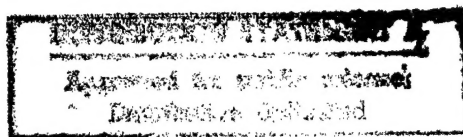


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# Near East/North Africa Report

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3 June 1982

## NEAR EAST/NORTH AFRICA REPORT

No. 2556

## CONTENTS

## IRAN

Various Economic Improvements Being Planned (KEYHAN, 11, 18 Apr 82) .....	1
Appropriations for Electrification Restoration of Abadan Electric Power Displays to Promote Production Rental of Airplanes	
Regime's New Propaganda Campaign (Free Voice of Iran, 20 May 82) .....	6
'Clandestine' Ridicules Qotbzadeh's Confessions (Free Voice of Iran, 19 May 82) .....	8
'Clandestine' Comments on Iranian Economy (Free Voice of Iran, 19 May 82) .....	10
Algeria Criticized for Supporting Iran (Radio Iran, 19 May 82) .....	11
Efforts To Thwart Opposition Abroad (Radio Iran, 15 May 82) .....	13
Briefs	
Shi'ite Clergyman's Cable to Khomeyni	14
Arrival of Hezbollahis in France	14
War Martyrs Widows Remarry	14
Zaire-Israeli Relations	14
Need for Experts	15
Use of Terrorist Training	15
Opposition to Ministry of Guards	15
Qotbzadeh's Suicide Attempt	16
FRG's Expulsion of Students	16
Claims of Captured Iraqis	16
Delegation's Visit to Gabon	17

# ISRAEL

Justice Minister on Security, Lebanon Issues (Benny Morris; THE JERUSALEM POST, 16 May 82) .....	18
Tzipori Comments on Autonomy, West Bank (ITIM, 7 May 82) .....	20
Ben-Elisar Interviewed on Political Issues (Eliyahu Ben-Elisar Interview; MA'ARIV, 14 May 82) .....	21
'HA'ARETZ' Examines Egypt, Autonomy (HA'ARETZ, 7 May 82) .....	28
U.S. Policy on Palestinian State Analyzed (Amos Karmeli; YEDI'OT AHARONOT, 9 May 82) .....	32
'MA' ARIV' Comments on Policy Toward Territories (Yosef Tzuri'el; MA'ARIV, 9 May 82) .....	34
Defense Expenditures, Loan Data Released by Statistics Bureau (DAVAR, 18 May 82; THE JERUSALEM POST, 18 May 82) .....	35
Rise in Foreign Loans Reported Statistics Bureau Data	
Dudin Appeals to King Husayn (17 May 82) .....	37
Rafah Border Inhabitants To Move (HA'ARETZ, 16 May 82) .....	39
Arab Villages Reportedly Receiving PLO Money (THE JERUSALEM POST, 14 May 82) .....	40
Settlement Plans in Gaza Strip (Jerusalem Domestic Service, 16 May 82) .....	41
'DAVAR' on Syrian-Soviet Threat (Yehoshu'a Tadmur; DAVAR, 10 May 82) .....	43
'DAVAR' on Possible War in Lebanon (Hagay Eshed; DAVAR, 16 May 82) .....	45
Increased Rakah Activity Among Arab Druze (Yo'el Dar; Jerusalem Domestic Service, 16 May 82) .....	48
Druze Group To Move to Syria (IDF Radio, 9 May 82) .....	49
Trends in Palestinian Emigration Reported (AL-MUSTAQBAL, 13 Mar 82) .....	50

Al-Najah University Official Comments on University's Problems (AL-RA'Y, 7 Mar 82) .....	52
Briefs	
Military Governor Removals Denied	54
Officials Removed After 'Irregularities'	54
Golan Settlement Site	54
'Settlers to Golan' Campaign	55
Egyptian Agricultural Delegation	55
Israeli Weapons in FRG	55
LEBANON	
Sarkis, 'Arafat on South Lebanon Situation' (Mustafa Idris; 'UKAZ, 19 May 82) .....	56
'AL-SAFIR' Pleads for Syrian-Palestinian Agreement (Talal Salman; AL-SAFIR, 14 May 82) .....	58
Papers Discuss Draper's 'Task' (Beirut Domestic Service, 21 May 82) .....	60
Klibi Views Arab Strategy for South (Beirut Domestic Service, 23 May 82) .....	62
Briefs	
Turkish, Spanish, Mauritanian Ambassadors	63
MOROCCO	
Top Advisor Gives Recollections of Experiences With Royal Family (Huda al-Murr; AL-MAJALLAH, 27 Mar-2 Apr, 3-9 Apr 82) .....	64
SAUDI ARABIA	
Democracy, Economic Development Discussed (AL-MADINAH AL-MUNAWWARAH, 30, 31 Mar 82) .....	75
Democratic Remedies Discussed, Editorial Development Prospects Discussed, Editorial	
TUNISIA	
Role of Islamic Militants in University Unrest Explored (Muhammad al-Munji Hammadi; AL-SHA'B, 9 Apr 82) .....	79

## VARIOUS ECONOMIC IMPROVEMENTS BEING PLANNED

### Appropriations for Electrification

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 11 Apr 82 p 13

[Text] Zahedan--Dr Ghafuri-Fard, minister of power, in an interview with IRNA, said: Last year the power ministry had about 20 billion kilowatt-hours of production. Thus, it added between 3 and 5 percent to production compared with the previous year. We hope to increase this growth during the current year, since electrical consumption naturally grows. This is because we should naturally add from 20 to 25 percent to our electrical production each year. This year we hope to be able to supply the expansion required by a society moving towards completion by bringing on stream new power plants like those of Ramin and Razgam, and the plants under repair in Esfahan.

The minister of power added: After the revolution more than 5,000 villages throughout the country came to enjoy electricity. In response to the question as to what actions had been carried out in regards to supplying water and electricity to the regions liberated from the aggressors, the minister of power said: We promised the people that we would supply water and electricity as fast as our combat forces liberated the areas from the enemy's claws. So far this has been accomplished immediately after the victory in Susangerd, Bostan, and the areas surrounding Dezful and Shush. He added: The power ministry has planned credits of about 900 million tumans for rural electrification during the current year. Credits of about 200 million tumans have been provided for expansion of the irrigating network throughout the country. The money will be spent on transporting dammed water to agricultural regions by the construction of canals three and four. The canals will be built in Sistan va Baluchistan, Hormozegan, Tabriz, Varamin and Garmsar and other spots. In relation to producing more power throughout the country, he said: On the basis of studies we have done, about 14 thousand megawatts can be produced from the Karun River, which is four times as much as the entire country's consumption under current conditions. Several dams must be built to profit from this electricity. At the present time the second and third Karun River dams are under study. In this interview the minister of power added: If the growth in electrical consumption is not right, in light of the annual production growth we now have, it will not be possible to supply the electricity needed, and we will be compelled to continue having outages, even though tehse outages are accompanied by great damage to our industry. Therefore, the people must conserve their electrical consumption, so that we will not be compelled to cut off power.

Concerning actions taken towards self-sufficiency in the electric field, Dr Ghafari-Fard said to IRNA: There are not any foreign experts now employed by the ministry of power, and the Office of Power Plants and power plant operations are in the hands of our own forces. He added: We have become quite self-reliant in the repair field as well. It is hoped that we will be able to build power plants domestically during the second or third government plan, God willing.

#### Restoration of Abadan Electric Power

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 17 Apr 82 p 13

[Text] Abadan--KEYHAN field correspondent--From the end of August, 1980, when the border war began, we rebuilt and repaired the power lines on the border as soon as they were knocked down so that electricity to the cities and region would not be cut off. When the genuine war began and Abadan was besieged, wherever the electric lines were damaged due to mortar and artillery fire, we fixed them, and strung lines to critical points like hospitals, the water organization and gas stations.

While stating the above, Assadi, chief of electricity for the southern district, said: Following the siege of Abadan, not only did our lines go out of commission, but our power stations in Abadan also were destroyed. Electricity was given to critical points in accordance with prior plans and contact with officials. In late November and December of 1981, electricity was supplied everywhere through the installations of generators in various points. During this period, 11 persons were martyred, 20 were wounded and 6 of our personnel were captured during the performance of their duties.

He added: In order to bring electricity to every point within the city, we put in 17 kilometers of underground cable beginning behind Meydan-e Tir with the help of brothers from the Fars Reconstruction Crusade and the Petroleum Company. Upon the Abadan victory, we rebuilt with wooden poles the Abadan-Mehshahr lines and 20 kilometers of line No 132,000 which had been destroyed. God willing, all electrical difficulties in Abadan will be eliminated by this summer.

He added: The activity of the personnel during this period is worthy of appreciation, since they supplied electricity to the fronts of the battle between right and futility from Darkhuin to Soleymaniyeh. In commemoration of these valuable services, Khorasan's 77th regiment expressed their gratitude to the officials of the Electricity Office.

In conclusion, he said: Because the employees of the Electricity Office are mostly over the age of 50 and do not have their former endurance, concerned officials must therefore utilize the young, active forces.

## Displays to Promote Production

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 18 Apr 82 p 13

[Text] During the current year, numerous displays entitled Displays of Industries, Agricultural Products, Commercial Services, Inventions and Initiatives will be held in various provinces in order to promote awareness of relational productive resources and to make the country's economy relatively self-sufficient.

The public relations spokesman of the Center for Expansion of Iranian Exports told KEYHAN's economic service reporter: The Center for Expansion of Iranian Exports, the governor general's office, head offices of revolutionary organs, and industrial and agricultural productive units from each province will co-operate and participate in holding these displays.

The spokesman added: The goal in organizing these displays of provincial industries, agricultural products, commercial services, inventions and initiatives is to create a base for promoting awareness of the various industrial, agricultural and productive resources of different regions, and also to show production tools needed in each province. Other goals include acquainting people with various methods to increase production, exchanging technical information and knowledge, encouraging inventors and initiators, encouraging the people to support domestic industries, increasing the volume of commercial exchanges, producing jobs, and preventing the uncontrolled export of currency for the importation of all sorts of goods. Finally, goals include attaining relative economic self-sufficiency, and expanding the export of Iranian non-petroleum goods.

In conclusion the spokesman added: The provincial displays will be held for 8 days. The first provincial display will be held in Yazd from 16 to 23 April.

## Rental of Airplanes

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 18 Apr 82 p 14

[Interview with Engr Baqerian, managing director of the IRI Airlines Company]

[Text] The Islamic Republic of Iran Airlines has transported more than 2,330,000 passengers on domestic and foreign flights during the period of Iraq's imposed war on Iran. Before noon yesterday, Engineer Mohammad Baqerian, managing director of the Islamic Republic of Iran Airlines Company, announced these facts in a press conference, and presented a report on the company's actions during the past 18 months.

At the beginning of his speech, Engineer Mohammad Baqerian, IRI Airlines Company managing director, in regards to the company's flights, said: From the end of October 1980 this company performed 14 domestic flights daily and 3 foreign flights weekly despite the imposed war. The figures have increased to 106 domestic flights and 15 foreign flights weekly at the present time. During this same period about 2,330,000 passengers were carried. Of this

number, about 1,980,000 were carried on domestic routes, and the remainder on the international network.

As he continued his speech, Engineer Baqerian added: During this period the flight capacity index equalled 70 percent. This figure is noteworthy in light of the operational difficulties which the company confronted. During the above period, about 89 thousand tons of cargo were carried by the company. Eighty-one thousand tons of this amount were on foreign flights and the remainder on domestic ones. Through coordinated efforts with the ministry of post and telegraph, the amount of mail carried on the flight network was about 2.2 million kilograms. About 200 thousand kilograms of this amount were on the domestic network, and the remainder on international flights.

The IRI Airlines managing director concerning greater operation of the airplanes, said: Through the assistance of other organs and organizations concerned with the country's air transportation, Homa was able to increase the daily operation of an airplane from 1.75 hours in the fall of 1980 to 3.15 hours in the fall of 1981. Of course this quantity of flight hours is still less than the international standard, but in light of the company's problems and difficulties, our progress during this year has been remarkable. Then, concerning repair and maintenance of airplanes, he said: Infrastructural actions were taken towards expanding airplane repair and maintenance activities inside the country. The list of parts reparable in Iran has increased by more than 100 items. Right now there is also a group of about 20 persons taking a repair course abroad. A program of basic rebuilding of 747 airplanes has begun in Iran during the past 18 months. Periodic 'A.B.C.' repairs are being carried out in Iran for all airplanes.

Then, concerning Homa's Flight Operations Section, the managing director of IRI Airlines stated: By providing an experienced flight cadre, the company carried out a total of about 20 thousand flights lasting 37 thousand flight hours during the 18 months being reported on. Due to the aforementioned flight limitations, this is one third of the time the company's Flight Operations Section is able to supply. The company's income has increased about 43 percent over that of the March 1980-March 1981 period, now coming to around 20 billion rials. From another angle, 3.5 billion rials in the March 1981-March 1982 budget has been saved. Of course, we are still not making a profit, but to a great extent we have been able to prevent losses. Then, concerning the company's personnel training, he said: IRI Airlines has organized 426 training courses in various areas. Six thousand one hundred fifty-six persons have completed these courses, and have received necessary training. From another angle, 140 technicians and engineers have been sent to domestic and foreign training institutions to take courses. By the spring of 1983, according to the planning that has been done, 130 foreigners employed in the engineering and repair section will be replaced by Iranians. Concerning the number of the company's airplanes, he said: At the present time the company has 29 airplanes active. The company is supposed to take delivery of 3 more Airbuses in May of this year. Thus, the capability to offer flight services will increase, particularly in the Persian Gulf and domestically. From another angle, a program has been arranged by which excess airplanes will be rented to Muslim and friendly countries during the year.

At the close of his speech, Engineer Baqerian, concerning tourist and visiting tours, stated: In the area of setting up trips abroad this year, the company will activate the Air-Tour Company, with regard both to the standards of the Islamic Republic of Iran and to airplane capacity. We will set up visiting tours, and tourist tours as well, to North Africa and friendly countries like Libya and Algeria.

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CSO: 4640/261

REGIME'S NEW PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN

GF201824 (Clandestine) Free Voice of Iran in Persian to Iran 1500 GMT 20 May 82

[Excerpts] Compatriots and dear listeners of the Free Voice of Iran,--the propaganda machinery of the so-called Islamic regime has so far denied the presence of our homeland's young children on the fronts of blood and fire of the war with Iraq. Even when the Iraqi propaganda organizations published pictures of these children, captured at the fronts, around the world showing them in parks and amusement areas of Baghdad, the Iranian regime did not stop their denials. Now they have started a new propaganda offensive and have shamelessly started broadcasting interviews with the same children at the fronts from the so-called Voice of the Islamic Republic. The occupied Radio Tehran, which is no longer the Voice of Iran and is the voice of the regime of turbaned murderers and thieves and the voice of the regime of mullahs who are the allies of the imperialist United States and Zionist Israel, in a program carried daily after 0600 which broadcasts the messages of guards and other people at the fronts to their families, has recently put interviews with children at the fronts at the top of the list.

Even though most of these interviews are false and are similar to the false wills published on behalf of the war dead in the confiscated and censored newspapers of our homeland, the tricky and lie-disseminating policies of the mullahs and the propagandists of the regime can clearly be observed from such interviews. In a program yesterday from the disgraced Radio of the Islamic Republic there was an interview with a 12-year old Esfahani child. The child, who replied to the question sincerely and in his sweet Esfahani accent, in answer to a question concerning his reason for coming to the front, said: We came to become martyrs so that with our martyrdom God preserves Imam Khomeyni and the Islamic Republic. Answering the question on the point that his participation in the war and readiness to become martyred is not required (?by religion) and about how he came to the front, the Esfahani child said: I asked my mother for permission and she, together with my father, encouraged me to come to the front and become a martyr for Imam Khomeyni's way.

Compatriots, the Free Voice of Iran had formerly announced that in the secondary schools in the cities and particularly in the distant townships Hezbollahi teachers send any youth they pick for dispatch to the fronts to

their homes with a letter of consent for their parents to sign. Should the parents not sign the consent form and refuse permission, the children are taken to the so-called revolution courts and prisons of the regime as hypocrites and U.S. supporters. Their parents can possibly be prosecuted as well.

The reporter of the disgraced Voice of the Islamic Republic asked the child: How far do you think the forces of Islam should progress in the war? The Esfahani child, who seemingly was unaware of the recent remarks by Mr Hosyn Musavi-Khamene'i, the philosophy-adhering prime minister of the regime and the half brother of 'His Holiness' Ayatollah Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i, said: We, the forces of Islam, will fight until the flag of Allah o Akbar is raised all over the world.

At the end of the interview, the child was evidently ordered to answer a question on messages for his family. It was obvious he was reading an answer and his tone was different. He said: Our message to our families is that should they hear the news of our martyrdom, they should not cry. They should have revolutionary patience and pray for Imam Khomeyni.

Compatriots, dispatches from various parts of our homeland show that among the Iranian families whose young children are sent to the fronts forcefully by the agents of the regime, there is a mood of hatred for the regime and a restlessness. This may have very dangerous results which may soon surface against the antinationalist regime of the mullahs. The messages from these children continues to fan this hatred. The false message carried by the disgraced Radio of the Islamic Republic in turn burns in the hearts of the parents whose dear and underage children have been sent to the front.

In the same program yesterday there was an interview with a Khorasani youth. He said that all those of his age believe that they will win since, according to Imam Khomeyni's decree, the person of the Lord of the ages was taken over their command and they become invisible to the enemy during advances and thus avoid their bullets. We have to add to such heathen brainwashing, which is a game played by the mullahs with the tired minds of our people, the words of Khomeyni and other leaders of his inauspicious regime and the session held under the title of expansion or coordination of Islamic and revolutionary propaganda and thus realize what a misguided game the mullahs are playing for the sake of the continuation of their power even at the price of death and loss of the dear children of the people, the future hope of Iran.

The drama continues and the mullahs foolishly think that no Iranian will be able to reveal it since they can accuse them of being antinationalist. However, we in the Free Voice of Iran bravely, while condemning the inhuman methods of Khomeyni regime, warn the mullahs of this hellish regime that they are sending the Iranian youth to slaughter for no reason. Their talk about Iran and Iranians is false. The nation and the nationality do not matter to you since your imam has said that in Islam nationalism is forbidden. Such an Islam is for that imam, leave the innocent Iranian children alone.

'CLANDESTINE' RIDICULES QOTBZADEH'S CONFESSIONS

GF201350 (Clandestine) Free Voice of Iran in Persian to Iran 1500 GMT 19 May 82

[Unattributed commentary]

[Excerpts] Sadeq Qotbzadeh has attempted to commit suicide in prison. This was reported by a clandestine radio called Voice of Iran. The political commentator of Free Voice of Iran, who has heard all the talk about the coup and has looked into Qotbzadeh's character, writes:

Sadeq Qotbzadeh who, following the public outcry about the discovery of a plot, is supposedly in jail, was for a long time one of the closest allies and advisers of Khomeyni and carried out the orders of the great leader of the revolution concerning the suffocation of the Voice of the Nationalists in the Iranian National Radio and Television.

Following a lengthy silence, the appearance of Qotbzadeh on the screen of Tehran's occupied television and his claim of participation in a coup attempt caused great doubts about the so-called coup. The well-informed considered this a well designed plan to crush the power of the famous opposition figures, including Ayatollah Shari'atmadari, whose influence was a constant source of fear for Khomeyni.

The clandestine Voice of Iran broadcast the report of the unsuccessful suicide attempt by Qotbzadeh in its program last night, which was barely audible in Iran, and stressed that the meeting between the Mullah Rehshahri and the regime's president, Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i, was on the same subject. [words indistinct] which are censored in Tehran have kept quiet about this and the details of the event, considering the suspicions about the coup claimed by Qotbzadeh, have not yet become clear. Our commentator states that according to the well-informed, Qotbzadeh has always been hated among the Iranian people. Following the presidential election of Bani-sadr, even the wealthy Bazaaris and the espionage services supporting him cut off their support and this has caused great doubts about the truth of the claims made by Qotbzadeh about the coup.

Following months of silence, suddenly Mr Sadeq Qotbzadeh appears on the television of Khomeyni's regime and in confessing to participation in a coup

accuses the most creditable Iranian clergyman of having a role in the coup d'etat. Now reports and rumors are arriving about his attempted suicide in prison. However, concerning the presence of Syrian experts in Savama and the constant trips by Qotbzadeh to Paris and Damascus, it does not seem unlikely that he is currently busy plotting a new conspiracy with Khomeyni and his cronies against freedom-seekers, nationalists and clergymen who are against the continuation of the illegal regime of Khomeyni.

CSO: 4640/306

'CLANDESTINE' COMMENTS ON IRANIAN ECONOMY

GF201145 (Clandestine) Free Voice of Iran in Persian to Iran 1500 GMT 19 May 82

[Unattributed commentary]

[Excerpts] Following the severe shortage of food in our homeland, Khomeyni has ordered the commerce minister of his regime to supply food for the oppressed. According to our correspondent, in addition to the shortage, the inflation in our country is so high that even the middle class has been cornered. They are gradually becoming part of the mass of the so-called oppressed. Our commentator has the following comments on the subject:

Since Khomeyni set foot on Iranian soil, the severest blows to Iranian society have been dealt against the middle and lower classes. Khomeyni promised Islamic justice in Neaple le Chateau and used to say: Why should we import wheat from the United States, rice from Pakistan and meat from New Zealand and why should the foreigners and the idolatrous plunder our wealth? If I return to Iran and establish Islamic laws, there will be no poverty and (?oppression) left and I shall divide the oil income among the people. In the Islamic Republic there is everything and there is no injustice.

The easily-fooled and the optimists believed the words of the deceitful Khomeyni and massed in the streets for social justice, freedom and independence and created the unrest and chaos that the imperialists and the super-powers had prepared the ground for. Finally, what should not have happened occurred and the foundations of the Iranian economy were destroyed at the hands of a group of uneducated and uninformed mullahs.

The heavy financial burden of the so-called revolutionary organizations such as the Revolution Guards, the committees and the mobilization [of the oppressed], the plunder of the government budget by the ruling mullahs, the budget deficit, the cost of the useless war for the export of the so-called revolution--which is, in truth, export of unrest and chaos to the region in order to satisfy imperialist wishes--are the main causes of the economic crash and the inflation in the past 3 and 1/2 years. Of course, many other reasons can also be cited. The lack of correct management and the exodus of economic experts from Iran must not be overlooked. Anyhow, now that the situation has reached its limits and the voice of the oppressed classes of Iran has been raised and dissatisfaction has increased, Khomeyni has thought of getting his regime's officials to find solutions for these problems and save the regime from the severe crisis it is facing.

CSO: 4640/306

# ALGERIA CRITICIZED FOR SUPPORTING IRAN

GF191908 (Clandestine) Radio Iran in Persian to Iran 1330 GMT 19 May 82

[Unattributed commentary: What Does Algeria Want in Iran?]

[Text] Following the crash of Ben Yahia's aircraft close to the Turkish border in Iran and the selection of a new foreign minister in his place, the question of the reason for Algerian diplomacy soiling its honor by contacts with the Islamic Republic and its aims in the bloodbath of the children of Iran has been posed to the international experts.

Algeria, following the achievement of independence, adopted cleverness, foresight and logic as the basis of its diplomacy. It thus gained a good reputation and honor and, by avoiding extremist and useless attitudes and by constructive moderation, earned the title of lantern carrier of the Third World.

Such logical behavior continued until Khomeyni's blight in Iran came into power. The establishment of open or secret relations between Algeria and the republic of mullahs was not surprising at the beginning. However, the quick revelation of the bloody and crazy nature of the republic posed the question: How can Algeria so boldly gamble its international reputation by cooperating with the bloodthirsty and (?people-murdering) gang of Khomeyni? As a whole: What does Algeria seek in Iran and what does it reap from such cooperation? Does it justify the loss of honor?

The reason for the cooperation of Algeria with the bloody republic of Khomeyni is not clear. What is certain is that Algeria has not been fooled by the mullahs' pretence at fighting imperialism. We have to seek the reason in another place, doubtlessly in the political opportunism of Algerian diplomacy. With such a diplomatic change of direction Algeria has lost its position as a Third World country which supports nations. It has officially stood in opposition to the will of the Iranian nation as one of the governments supporting the Islamic regime. It has thus made itself an accomplice to Khomeyni and his criminal actions.

While in the opinion of nations Khomeyni's regime is the idol of religious (?madness) and the most bloody and reactionary dictatorship of the age, Algerian cooperation with such a regime has no result but earning dishonor and condemnation for being an accomplice in the murder of people. While the

life of the Iranian people has become mixed with tears, blood and misery under such a cruel regime in the inauspicious atmosphere of the Islamic calamity, what can Algerian support for the Islamic Republic mean except loss of diplomatic honor for Algeria? What fruit will this bear? While the regime of the mullahs has not, for one moment, stopped the activity of their machines of murder and firing squads, how does the Algerian president justify sending a message of support for 'Ali Khamene'i? Has Algeria ever thought that it can only earn bloody marks on its gown of diplomacy in the Iranian bloodbath? Will the new Algerian foreign minister review his government's attitude toward the plundering regime? Will he save Algerian honor from the filth of the Islamic Republic?

CSO: 4640/306

EFFORTS TO THWART OPPOSITION ABROAD

GF160840 (Clandestine) Radio Iran in Persian to Iran 1330 GMT 15 May 82

[Text] The French newspaper LE QUOTIDIEN, published in Paris, in an article in today's issue entitled "The Tehran Regime Pays for Pressuring the Opposition Abroad" writes:

Syrian diplomats are not the only people who buy the services of students in order to pressure the opposition in France or abroad. The same technique has been used by the embassies of the Islamic Republic for several months. A large budget has been allocated in order to pay the agents' salaries.

The paper cites a circular by the regime of the Islamic Republic sent to all its missions abroad [words indistinct]. The text of the circular is as follows: Islamic Republic of Iran, Foreign Ministry, Department of Consular and Cultural Affairs. Top Secret No 2533-104458 dated (?12 August 1981): In his exalted name. Circular to all Iranian missions abroad: According to [words indistinct] 1 billion rials has been allocated for the consular offices to be distributed among Hezbollahi individuals who are sent abroad from Iran as students in order to (?disrupt) gatherings of counterrevolutionary students. [Passage indistinct] [Signed] Deputy, Cultural and Consular Affairs, Javad Mansuri

The newspaper published a copy of the circular and translated it into French. It writes: The document informs Iranian missions that they have been allocated the 1 billion to distribute among Iranian Hezbollahis sent abroad to neutralize the activities of students opposing the regime. The newspaper adds: The Islamic Republican figures dispatch (?disciplinary) groups abroad headed by their special agents every now and then. In October another top secret circular was found in the Iranian Embassy in Bonn which detailed orders to the embassy staff to [words indistinct] for a 13-man group. They were to find a hideout for this group of terrorists in the FRG on the condition that it be easy to protect and have escape routes. The embassy was also supposed to give them 800,000 marks. They were to be helped in case of a possible confrontation with the police and visas were to be obtained for them for France and England. The group was to continue operations in France and England following the completion of its mission in the FRG. The secret circular of the embassy in the FRG also stated that should the embassy be unable to obtain visas for them due to entry limitations for Iranians to France and England, they should be sent there by other means.

CSO: 4640/306

BRIEFS

SHI'ITE CLERGYMAN'S CABLE TO KHOMEYNI--According to news agencies in Paris, Ayatollah Seyyed Mehdi Ruhani, leader of the Shi'ites in Europe, has stated that the shifting of the venue of war onto Iraqi soil would be a great danger to the area. He adds in his message to Ruhollah Khomeyni: Sending Iranians inside Iraqi territory will not only result in the certain killing of tens of thousands of Iranians but will also embroil Iran in a dangerous and extensive adventure which could be the harbinger of the beginning of a full-fledged war in the region. On the basis of the same report, the reason for Ayatollah Ruhani's sending such a cable to Khomeyni is the recent statement made by the prime minister of the regime, Hoseyn Musavi-Khamene'i, who said: The war will continue until the downfall of Saddam Husayn. [Text] [GF181300 (Clandestine) Voice of Iran in Persian 0330 GMT 17 May 82]

ARRIVAL OF HEZBOLLAHIS IN FRANCE--Our comrades in arms have reported from Paris that around 200 Hezbollahi ruffians and knife-wielders have arrived in Paris from Tehran in the past several days. These club and knife-wielders have been hired by the mullahs to attack the opposition to Khomeyni's regime. The regime of the Islamic Republic pays these ruffians considerable sums of money. Some time ago Hezbollahi guards and knife-wielders attacked Iranian opposition students with axes, knives, chains and clubs in Mainz in the FRG. The information on the arrival of the 200 ruffian guards and Hezbollahi knife-wielders has been given to the French police. [Text] [GF191704 (Clandestine) Radio Iran in Persian to Iran 1330 GMT 19 May 82]

WAR MARTYRS WIDOWS REMARRY--The Corps of the Guardians of Khomeyni's regime announced that on the 3d of Sh'aban [25 May], which has been named Guards' Day, the Guards will wed a number of the widows of war martyrs. The first group of these women who have agreed to marry the Guards are widows of Guards and the so-called sisters of Zeynab [camp followers of the Guard Corps]. Dispatches indicate that not even one army officer or NCO widow whose husbands was martyred for the defense of the homeland has accepted the shame of sleeping next to the criminal guards. [Text] [GF191657 (Clandestine) Radio Iran in Persian to Iran 1330 GMT 19 May 82]

ZAIRE-ISRAELI RELATIONS--The African country of Zaire has established diplomatic relations with Israel. The decision has caused criticism of the Zaire Government among African and Islamic countries. Saudi Arabia and, following that, the regime of Khomeyni have objected to these ties. Khomeyni's regime

in a statement has warned countries of the world such as Zaire about the establishment of political ties with Israel. Our correspondent has reported that the relations between the Islamic regime of Khomeyni and the Zionist Government of Menahem Begin have been revealed to such an extent that such efforts will be futile. The interesting point in our correspondent's dispatch is that the news of the publication of the official statement by Khomeyni's regime condemning Zaire's Government was reported by the Zionist news agencies in the Middle East. [Text] [GF191739 (Clandestine) Free Voice of Iran in Persian to Iran 1500 GMT 19 May 82]

NEED FOR EXPERTS--The so-called labor minister of Khomeyni's regime, Ahmad Tavakoli, said in Tehran yesterday that the Islamic regime continues to need foreign experts. However, it is trying to fill the need from Islamic and Third World countries. The labor minister and the spokesman for the Khomeyni-Khamene'i government did not explain the presence in Iran of several thousand Eastern Bloc experts from countries such as the Soviet Union, GDR, Bulgaria and the PDRK, and a number of Arab countries who are close to Moscow such as Libya and Syria, as well as Israeli military and security experts. Tavakoli also did not mention which country's experts in the so-called Ministry of Information and Security of Khomeyni's regime control the facilities for the defense of Khomeyni's residence, the system of allocation and distribution of food in Iran or the plan for communisation of commerce in Iran. According to available statistics, there are around 2,000 communist bloc military experts in Iran. There are also 200,000 Soviet citizens who have been granted permission from the regime for secret operations in Azarbayjan, Khorasan and other northern parts of Iran. [Text] [GF191850 (Clandestine) Free Voice of Iran in Persian to Iran 1500 GMT 19 May 82]

USE OF TERRORIST TRAINING--An Iranian diplomat who has asked the British Government for political asylum revealed the plans of Khomeyni's regime concerning control of Arab countries and establishment of a fascist system similar to that of the Islamic Republic. Mehdi Baratzadeh, who was formerly the first secretary in the Iranian Embassy in the YAR, in a press conference in London revealed that reactionary mullahs in Arab countries are sending groups of the most fanatical seminary students to Iran for military training. The Iranian diplomat explained that 50 such seminarians were sent to Iran from the YAR recently. BBC while broadcasting the report stated that the Manama Court in Bahrain will probably issue a verdict today on the fate of those accused of a coup d'etat attempt in Bahrain. BBC voiced the opinion that the attempt was made with Iranian backing. It has been said that the coupists in Bahrain were the first group of the individuals trained in terrorist and guerrilla activities in Tehran. They were arrested after their return and short stay in Bahrain. [Text] [GF201645 (Clandestine) Free Voice of Iran in Persian to Iran 1500 GMT 20 May 82]

OPPOSITION TO MINISTRY OF GUARDS--According to our correspondent, the news of the establishment of a Ministry of Guards has caused opposition among the guards toward the regime. A number of commanders of the force reason that such a ministry will limit the sphere of their activities. According to the same report, it is rumored in Tehran that Mohsen Reza'i, the commander of the Revolution Guards, has handed his resignation to Khomeyni. The trained terrorist Mohsen Reza'i, commander of the Revolution Guards, and other commanders

of this force have not yet accepted the suggestion by the Majlis of mullahs to review the bill on the establishment of a Ministry of Guards. [Text] [GF201332 (Clandestine) Free Voice of Iran in Persian to Iran 1500 GMT 19 May 82]

QOTBZADEH'S SUICIDE ATTEMPT--A Voice of Iran correspondent has reported that on Tuesday morning president of Khomeyni's Revolutionary Courts of Injustice, Sheykh Mohammadi Reyshahrim submitted a complete report on Sadeq Qotbzadeh's futile suicide attempt to the mullahs' president, Sheykh 'Ali Musavi Khamene'i. A report, which was broadcast for our dear listeners yesterday, stated that ex-foreign minister in Khomeyni's regime Sadeq Qotbzadeh--who has been arrested on charges of plotting to overthrow the mullahs' Islamic Republic--attempted suicide on Saturday in a solitary confinement cell in Evin Prison. However, several Revolution Guards who were guarding his cell transferred him to the prison hospital and he was thus saved from death. This report was given to our correspondent by the brother of one of the Revolution Guards guarding Sadeq Qotbzadeh's cell. This person stressed that he does not have any further information. [Text] [NC191130 (Clandestine) Voice of Iran in Persian 1805 GMT 18 May 82]

FRG'S EXPULSION OF STUDENTS--News agencies have reported that FRG judicial authorities have ordered the expulsion of 17 of the 86 subversive and knife-yielding Hezbollahis of Khomeyni from that country. These 86 so-called student Hezbollahis attacked antiregime students at Mainz University some time ago, wounding several of them with knives, chains and belts. According to these reports Sheykh Hadi Gaffari, leader of the regime's terrorists, immediately attacked and condemned the FRG Government and police force, but his remarks did not affect the ultimate decision of the Bonn government to expel these terrorists. Meanwhile, informed circles have reported that officials of the FRG Embassy in Tehran have taken extra security measures around the embassy grounds and have also decided to maintain a low profile. Members of the FRG Embassy in Tehran fear that upon the return of the 17 out of 86 Khomeyni terrorists to Tehran, these knife-wielders will take steps against the FRG Embassy and its members. An interesting point to note is that the state newspaper JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI wrote on Wednesday in relation to the expulsion of Khomeynis' saboteurs that the FRG police did not give any reason for the arrest of the so-called students. [Text] [NC201042 (Clandestine) Voice of Iran in Persian 1805 GMT 19 May 82]

CLAIMS OF CAPTURED IRAQIS--According to the Central News Unit, on the basis of the latest reports from the Karbala headquarters of the joint operations of the armed forces of the Islamic Republic of Iran and the Islamic Revolution Guards Corps, the number of deceived prisoners taken by the combatants of Islam since yesterday in the vicinity of Khorramshahr and inside the city has gone beyond 10,000. The number of POWs counted so far and transferred behind the front has reached 10,031. Therefore, the number of Iraqi POWs who have been transferred behind the front since the beginning of the Jerusalem operation [Bayt al-Moqaddass] has reached over 15,000. The transfer of the remaining POWs behind the front is still continuing. [Text] [LD241814 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1630 GMT 24 May 82]

DELEGATION'S VISIT TO GABON--According to a Central News Unit report, the delegation visiting Gabon led by the head of the sixth political office of our country's Foreign Affairs Ministry, has had meetings with Gabon's minister of state, the special advisor to the president of Gabon, the National Consultative Assembly Presidium and this country's first deputy prime minister to discuss issues of mutual interest to the two countries. In these meetings discussions and debates were held on the Islamic Republic of Iran's stance on the imposed war, the crimes committed by the Iraqi Ba'thist-Zionist regime and the suggestion of the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran regarding changing the venue of the next summit conference of the nonaligned states from Baghdad to another country. [Text] [LD241904 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1630 GMT 24 May 82]

CSO: 4640/306

JUSTICE MINISTER ON SECURITY, LEBANON ISSUES

TA160815 Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 16 May 82 p 3

[Report by diplomatic correspondent Benny Morris]

[Text] The security forces are studying methods of controlling crowds in the territories which may help avoid fatalities, Justice Minister Moshe Nisim told THE JERUSALEM POST on Friday. He would not comment on whether the use of rubber bullets is one of the means being considered.

All military governors in the territories have recently been given a detailed handbook called Main Points of Policy and Means of Implementing Them. The Justice Ministry prepared the handbook for a subcommittee of the Ministerial Defence Committee [MDC] and the MDC subsequently approved it.

Nisim pointed out that "recently" there have been very few applications by residents of the territories to the High Court of Justice. He said the dismissed West Bank mayors did not apply to the court because of "the very careful legal groundwork our officials and experts have been doing prior to taking any action in the territories."

In contrast, the security forces' "mistake" in preventing free movement of Golan Druze who do not hold ID cards was made, he said, because the Golan is "Israeli territory" and the security forces' actions there are not meticulously planned and legally scrutinized in advance, as they are in the territories.

Nisim was referring both to Attorney General Yitzhaq Zamir's recent ruling that the maximum penalty the state can impose on a person failing to carry his ID card is a IS500 fine, and to Zamir's implicit criticism of the security forces for imposing illegal travel restrictions.

The justice minister said that the moment this "mistake" was caught, the travel restrictions and roadblocks were removed. The mistake had been made "in all innocence," he said.

Nisim denied that vigilante action by Jewish settlers in the West Bank against Arabs is widespread. He also denied that the police and judicial authorities are "lenient" toward Jewish settlers in the territories who commit crimes against Arabs.

"We investigate each case and bring suspects to trial," he said.

Neither is there a breakdown of law in the country, he said. The mass violations of the law and attacks on soldiers by diehards who opposed the withdrawal from Sinai during the last days of Yamit were "an historic exception," Nisim said.

"People are not always tried for demonstrating illegally. As to illegal settlements, this government has always--with the exception of Bet Hadassah in Hebron--promptly evicted illegal settlers, unlike the previous Labour governments," Nisim said, referring to the Labour government's vacillation toward the early settlers in Qiryat Arba', Qedumim and Sebastiya.

Regarding the lack of national consensus about a possible invasion of South Lebanon by Israel, Nisim blamed the Labour Party for creating "war hysteria" and divisiveness, and for revealing the content of secret talks with Prime Minister Menahem Begin.

"They have caused Israel real political damage," Nisim said.

He also said that those who leak details of meetings of the Ministerial Defence Committee--"as occurred recently"--should be brought to trial. He was referring to a recent report on Israel Radio giving details of the committee's deliberation of the Lebanese border situation.

Nisim implied he had an idea who was responsible for leaking the report to Israel Radio reporter Shim'on Schiffer. But "we have no means of discovering the leaker, because the prime minister refuses to use the general security service or other investigative bodies against elected representatives," he said.

As to reports over the weekend of Israeli troops concentrations in the north, Nisim said that such concentrations "can serve different purposes," implying they were not necessarily primarily or completely directed against the PLO and Lebanon. "On no account will we allow a recurrence of Yom Kippur," said the minister, referring to the 1973 war, when Israeli forces were caught unprepared for the Syrian-Egyptian attack. "But Israel should not allow its actions to be determined by internal critics or external political factors," Nisim said.

CSO: 4400/277

## TZIPORI COMMENTS ON AUTONOMY, WEST BANK

TA071544 Tel Aviv ITIM in Hebrew 1515 GMT 7 May 82

[Text] Tel Aviv, 7 May--"If negotiations on autonomy are not held in Jerusalem, they will not be held anywhere else since nobody can dictate to Israel where its capital is." This was stated by Communications Minister Mordekhay Tzipori in a lecture at the engineers' club in Tel Aviv today.

Minister Tzipori said that Israel has concluded one stage of forging a way through to the Arab world in return for painful sacrifices and it is now facing the next stage. He emphasized that the positions and plans of the Zionist parties are unacceptable to the Arab world "which wants to see us in the sea while the Western world wants a Palestinian state."

He noted that not all the world's wars today feature in the center of interest "since the most major things in this world are events in Eretz Yisrael and whether more or less stones were thrown in Judaea and Samaria." He added that the people in Judaea and Samaria receive instructions from Beirut but "an Israeli soldier or company has never sought out Arab children in order to beat them, but must not our soldiers defend themselves?"

Minister Tzipori further said that a demonstration in Ramallah carries more weight [for the world] than the 300 soldiers who drowned in the Falklands crisis.

As for autonomy, Tzipori said Israel will insist that autonomy be the way Israel understands it. "Israel is present in this area and nothing Israel does not agree to will be implemented," the minister stated.

He noted that the State of Israel cannot reduce its area "since if we do so we will thus impose the death penalty on ourselves. If we return territories the army will have to deploy constantly along the border and all reserve forces will have to be mobilized every few months," He declared that when the Likud assumed power a mistake was made: in his opinion, during the first month in power the Likud should have annexed Judaea, Samaria, the Gaza Strip and the Golan Heights. "It was possible then and the world would have accepted such a move by us." He also declared that Israel's basic problems are the unity of the people and the economic situation. He dwelled on the ethnic issue saying that recent phenomena endanger the people more than 'Arafat.

CSO: 4400/277

BEN-ELISAR INTERVIEWED ON POLITICAL ISSUES

TA141345 Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 14 May 82 p 24

[Interview with Dr Eliyahu Ben-Elisar, chairman of the Knesset Defense and Foreign Affairs Committee, by Dov Goldstein on 11 May in Jerusalem]

[Text] Question: Dr Ben-Elisar, it seems that Israel finds itself in a labyrinth with no way out. Its most authoritative spokesmen hold the most senior military and political posts have unequivocally declared that the shelling of the northern settlements would result in a clear-cut Israeli reaction. No one doubted that this meant an IDF operation to destroy the PLO's military infrastructure in Lebanon and prevent the terrorists from physically hitting the settlements. Well, the terrorists have shelled the northern settlement. So what now?

Answer: As a rule I always say we should never, on any issue, hold a stopwatch and say: "Go on, the hands are moving." This is not the way. We periodically complain about "other nations," including friendly ones and in particular the United States, breathing down our backs with a stopwatch hand, urging us to resolve the problems fast because time is short and it is dangerous to delay. We keep explaining to them that prolonged disputes cannot be resolved hastily. So there is no point in checking our own time against a "stopwatch." Our policy should be clear. Implementation of that policy, however, should be left for the authorized institutions to carry out; namely, the cabinet and the ministerial committee on defense affairs, which will determine the timing and the scope in accordance with sensible and logical considerations.

Question: Yet you would agree that by shelling civilian settlements in the north the terrorists have crossed "the red line" Israel set marking the limit of its tolerance and restraint?

Answer: We did not set any "red line." I do not believe in red lines. Israeli policy in the north is obvious and clear, and not just with respect to the terrorists. Israel is interested in an independent, sovereign and integral Lebanon throughout its entire territory. We have no ambitions toward any piece of land in Lebanon. But there are two things upsetting this state of affairs--the Syrian conquest and the presence of the terrorists with their

camps, headquarters, arsenals and deployment. Last July the United States helped us reach an agreement to cease the hostilities. It is not a ceasefire as many have become used to calling it. Our interpretation of the agreement--and this is backed by the United States--is that no actions be carried out on either side of the border, including the area under Major Haddad's control, and that no operation be carried out inside Israel or along any of its borders and that no Jews be hit abroad. So there is no question of a "red line" here. If the question is whether the terrorists have violated the agreement on a cessation of hostilities, then the answer is clear: definitely! They have! But if the question is one of what Israel should do to stop the hostilities--well, the cabinet will decide how and when to do this.

Question: As far as Israel is concerned, does an agreement on a cessation of hostilities exist?

Answer: What exists is our policy; namely, that we are not interested in turning to hostile actions. However, it is perfectly clear that Israel cannot--and will not!--be the only party to observe and honor the agreement.

Question; You did not answer my question. Let me repeat it. At this moment, as far as Israel is concerned, is the agreement in effect or has it been annulled because of the terrorist violations?

Answer: If you ask me about the practical interpretation the terrorists have given it, there is not a shadow of a doubt that the terrorists have violated the agreement not only in shelling the settlements but even long before that.

Question: Do you share the view that by firing at our settlements the terrorists did not mean to harm civilians but merely to signal to Israel that they cannot "swallow" air force operations?

Answer: Definitely not: not only is this assumption unfounded (and I have no idea who in Israel spread this assumption or what his motives were) but the contrary; they shot in order to hit and indeed a number of shells landed in populated centers. This was not a signal to Israel. This was a failed attempt to murder Israeli civilians in the northern settlements.

Question: But still Israel is exercising restraint, at least up to now....

Answer: I have already said that the timing and the scope will be determined by the cabinet.

Question: Meanwhile Israel's credibility is being eroded...

Answer: No, it is not. The media has been exaggerating, and the number of accurate quotes by authoritative sources has been greatly limited. It was important for the terrorists and the Syrians, for whom the Israeli declarations were intended, to realize what Israel's policy is. I assume it is perfectly clear to them. The place and time when Israel will act to prevent terrorist acts do not necessarily have to coincide with the place and time the terrorists anticipate. The political-military establishment should be fully trusted with regard to the action.

Question: What do you think Israel's reaction should be: to clear the area of terrorists and destroy their military infrastructure?

Answer: I would not like to hold a stopwatch and say what Israel should do following pressures created by a certain incident. Therefore, irrespective of the shelling of the settlements, one of the Israeli goals should be to destroy the terrorists in Lebanon. They jeopardize the lives of Israeli civilians and harm the interests of both Israel and Lebanon, whose independence is in Israel's interest.

Question: This need to destroy the terrorists in Lebanon has become more acute because of their violation of the agreement and the shelling of the settlement...

Answer: I am not talking about the timing.

Question: Are Israel's hands bound to such an extent by the United States?

Answer: I would not say they are bound. Washington also understands that Israel cannot be alone in maintaining the agreement to cease hostilities. However, neither is there any disputing the fact that we take the U.S. position into account, even though it has told us more than once--with an accusing finger pointed at us--that we do not take its views into consideration. When I talk about timing and sensibility and logic, I mean that international circumstances should be taken into account, and this of course includes the United States.

Question: Has the United States recently made vigorous attempts to prevent us from taking a broad Israeli action?

Answer: Without going into any details of what has been going on in the last few days, the United States has been trying for some time now to take action to observe the agreement to cease hostilities.

Question: People in Israel feared that after the end of the Sinai withdrawal on 26 April the United States would take off the kid gloves and use sharp and demanding language toward us. Looking at the U.S. conduct and judging it on the basis of the attempt to prevent Israel from taking strong action for the shelling of the settlements, does one find that this fear has materialized?

Answer: No, definitely not! I never feared that the U.S. tone would become sharper, nor did I think that upon the evacuation of Yamit we would be losing the political chips we held. We have other chips and the United States is very sensitive to the cards we have. In the international game and in the constellation of political relations between the two countries, the United States has certainly demonstrated sensitivity toward our sensibilities. There has been no toughening or extra insistence on the part of the United States.

Question: Has the fear of entanglement in a war with Syria deterred Israel?

Answer: Israel does not fear involvement in war with Syria, but likewise it is not interested in such a war and does not want one. We must know that in the current state of affairs in Lebanon and along the Israel-Syrian border there are all the signs and components indicating a possible flareup. Syria now has a very strong army in a high degree of readiness and it all depends on one man's desires and wishes--those of Hafiz al-Asad.

Question: Have there been clear signs in the area in the last few days that would point to increased Syrian preparedness for a possible aggression?

Answer: No, not in the last few days, but if one looks at the preparedness in the field over a certain period of time, there definitely were signs indicating vicious Syrian intentions.

Question: The terrorists have repeatedly said that they want the cessation of hostilities to continue, provided that the agreement applies only to the Lebanese border and not to other fronts. Perhaps the agreement contains some ambiguous points that each party can interpret as it wants to?

Answer: No. There is definitely no room for interpretation. Our position is crystal clear, and is also supported by the official U.S. interpretation. Everyone knows full well what it is all about and if the terrorists want to operate across other Israeli borders or against Jewish targets all over the world, this would certainly constitute a serious violation and provocation.

Question: Perhaps it would be advisable for Israel to either initiate or suggest that the United States try to reach a clear, specified agreement with the terrorists that would preclude conflicting interpretations and place more binding definitions in the agreement?

Answer? There is no need for this. The documents we have are clear and explicit.

Question: Let us take one example: If the security forces discover a bomb on a bus in Jerusalem, what does that have to do with the agreement on the cessation of hostilities?

Answer: This is precisely the point! Everyone--and the terrorist organizations have admitted the identity of those responsible for the acts--knows that both the instructions and almost always the men and means of warfare and sabotage come from Lebanon. This is sufficient. Hence our statement that they have not observed the cessation of the hostilities and have failed to honor their commitment as per the agreement.

Question: In the considerations that lead to the decision on when and how to take action against the terrorists, what weight has been given to the views and recommendations of the community leaders in the northern settlements?

Answer: Public opinion affects the decisionmakers. This is how a democratic regime operates. Yet there is one thing the cabinet ought not to do: If all considerations were focused on the northern border only, this would mean that we would be neglecting and forsaking the other settlements along other borders. If we say that quiet must prevail along the northern border even if the terrorists violate the agreement, this is tantamount to opening other borders to terrorist activity--say the Jordanian border or the coast. The cabinet must know what the people in the north think, but taking their wishes into account must be subordinate to overall considerations and calculations.

Question: Do the growing attempts to bridge the rift between Egypt and the Arab world worry you?

Answer: I have never been under the illusion that Egypt would sever itself from the Arab world. This is a country that naturally belongs in the Arab world. It is its natural habitat. I regarded the split, or the expulsion of Egypt from the inter-Arab institutions and the severance of diplomatic ties, as a passing phenomenon. True, had al-Sadat been alive today the return would have been a longer process. Al-Sadat, who was personally responsible for the peace process, criticized and slandered Arab leaders. Mubarak, who is not "to blame" for the peace initiative, finds it easier to participate in the process of conciliation with the Arab world.

There is no doubt in my mind that the relations between Egypt and the Arab countries, or some of them, will continually improve. However, I believe that this will not be done at the expense of the basic state of peace with Israel. I presume the relations between Israel and Egypt will suffer, in certain areas, but peace will continue to exist because it is distinctly in the Egyptian national interest in the eyes of Egypt itself.

Question: What aspects of Israeli-Egyptian relations could be harmed?

Answer: I may very well be that Egyptian professors will not want to have any contact with Israeli colleagues and that commercial or industrial elements that have connections in Arab countries will not wish to have any ties with Israeli elements. The Egyptian authorities may not permit many Egyptians to visit Israel, or the Egyptian leaders may come out with very militant declarations. None of this will add to the wholesome condition of relations between Egypt and Israel, but it will not change the basic state of peace.

Question: You mean a sort of cold peace with very modest expressions of normalization?

Answer: The fact of the matter is that normalization has never had a high profile. I would find it very hard to say that there was normalization. Some sort of very slow process was begun, but it has remained slow and will continue to be extremely slow. It has never lived up to the Israeli public's expectations.

Question: What about your expectations when you were ambassador to Egypt?

Answer: [apparent line drop in original] Directors general committee I headed, back in 1979, to regulate the future relations with Egypt. There was unanimous agreement that the relations would develop very slowly and that Israel should not urge Egypt and push it too hard. I had no expectations, so there was no disappointment or surprise. I think the Egyptians erred and continue to err in pursuing this very slow pace. In so doing they have aroused skepticism and suspiciousness among the Israelis about their very intentions and desire for peace.

Question: What did they lose? Has Israel not withdrawn on time?

Answer: The people of Israel are full of doubts. This is no basis for good neighborly relations. After all, we have yet to face many years of neighborly relations and negotiations...

Question: When President Mubarak refused to visit Jerusalem, warning lights went on in Israel. Why did we not make completion of the withdrawal contingent upon an Egyptian consent to hold the autonomy talks in Jerusalem as well?

Answer: Egypt has always had a problem with regard to Jerusalem. After ambassadors were exchanged and Egypt and Israel were supposed to launch negotiations on transportation, communication and other issues, the problem of negotiations in Jerusalem first arose. At that time I went to President al-Sadat and explained to him that we could not give up our capital as a venue for negotiations and that if Egypt refused there would not be any more negotiations ever. I told the president that presidents, foreign ministers and other senior officials from many countries come to Jerusalem, but that, unfortunately, this does not constitute recognition by their respective countries of Jerusalem's Israeli character. I added that Israeli-Egyptian negotiations in Jerusalem would likewise not be considered Egyptian recognition of Jerusalem's Israeli status. Al-Sadat thought and thought and offered the following suggestion: that Egyptian delegations conduct the negotiation in Jerusalem but spend the night in Tel Aviv. We accepted that.

Since his visit to Jerusalem, various Egyptian ministers and officials have held negotiations there and abstained from sleeping in Jerusalem. President Mubarak's refusal has created the problem. Now Israel cannot agree to have Jerusalem boycotted. In other words, here there is total asymmetry: if the negotiations are conducted in Jerusalem, Israel will have gained no political profit because this does not herald a recognition of our sovereignty over Jerusalem. But if we agree that Jerusalem be passed over, our loss will be grave because by this we would be accepting the contention that we have no sovereignty over Jerusalem. This Israel will never accept.

Question: Perhaps Mubarak needs to "boycott" Jerusalem in order to patch up the split with the Arab world?

Answer: No. The Egyptians have so greatly "befouled" themselves in the eyes of the Arab countries--by having peace, ambassadors, Israeli tourism and flags in Cairo--that the matter of Jerusalem plays no role in this. As far as I am concerned, the Egyptian intransigency with regard to Jerusalem raises a serious doubt about Egypt's very readiness to pursue the autonomy negotiations. Egypt is using Jerusalem to cover up its reluctance to continue the negotiations.

Question: Several reserve officers, including Yuval Neriya, who was awarded a medal for courage in the Yom Kippur War, have charged that "we are losing our human image in the territories and a frightening and intimidating situation of increasing violence is evolving." Is it not in the distinct interest of the Knesset Defense and Foreign Affairs Committee, as the civilian body in charge of supervising the IDF, to look into these charges and find out how much truth lies in these grave accusations?

Answer: The committee has discussed the IDF activity and will continue to do so. However, here we have a first-rate scandal, where reserve officers hold a press conference, or merely talk to their neighbors, on matters having to do with their military service! Today they might talk about this and tomorrow they could talk about the types of weapons and the deployment of forces! This is unheard of! Members of "peace now" have asked me to summon the reserve officers to appear before the committee. I answered that the IDF judge advocate must determine whether they may have transgressed military laws. I will not provide official license for reservists to talk in public about what they learned in the course of their military duty.

Question: In your opinion, have we not lost the proper criteria in our attitude toward the Arabs of the territories? Has the IDF not shown excessive toughness?

Answer: We have not lost the right measure. I would not purport to presume that I can be numbered among the righteous. I am looking for efficiency. If certain ways and means do not yield the result Israel wants, we should seek alternative solutions. What we should try to look for in Judaea, Samaria and Gaza is quiet and calm and we should strive toward freeing the inhabitants of their fear of the PLO in order to allow a moderate leadership to emerge from its ranks. Anything that does not serve those goals should be changed.

Question: Does what has recently been applied there serve these purposes?

Answer: It seems to me I would have made some changes.

Question: Do you mean, for instance, that there have been too many cases when arms were used?

Answer: It would be difficult for me to judge the men. It is not an easy thing to be among a few facing a wild mob. But clearly use of fire is not a good thing. It does not portray Israel in the right light.

CSO: 4400/277

## 'HA'ARETZ' EXAMINES EGYPT, AUTONOMY

TA071313 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 7 May 82 p 13

[Commentary by Poles: "Camp David: The Second Half"]

[Text] Quite a few of those closely following political developments in the Arab-Israeli arena tend to believe--or are even persuaded--the Camp David process "exhausted itself" upon the completion of the IDF's withdrawal from the eastern part of the Sinai Peninsula, the evacuation of the Jewish settlers and the beginning of the Multinational Force and Observers' [MFO] operation in Zone C. As for the second half of the Camp David accords--the autonomy framework for the Arabs of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, these observers believe there is no chance it will be implemented. In light of the polar differences of opinion between Egypt and Israel regarding the nature of the autonomy, we can only expect the current stalemate to persist.

There may be something to this forecast, an analysis of the declarations by Egyptian and Israeli statesmen may lead to such a pessimistic assessment. One may wonder: Why do the Egyptians refuse to hold the next round of autonomy talks, or any other round, in Jerusalem? After all, they are aware of the importance the Israeli Government attaches to the fact that Jerusalem should not be boycotted by Washington and Cairo.

If the Egyptian leadership persists in boycotting Jerusalem, this should be interpreted as an indication of one of two trends: either Cairo has despaired--given its experience since May 1979--and given up hope of softening the rigid position of Israel whose proposals are incompatible with Egypt's notions about the nature of "full" autonomy; or President Husni Mubarak is inclined to believe that now that Israel has withdrawn to the old international border, Egypt will be able to afford to give up autonomy as a solution to the Palestinian problem, to take a risk and support other proposed solutions that are not based on the Camp David accords.

At the same time, one should wonder why the Israeli Government insists so much that Jerusalem should be one of the venues of the autonomy talks. Two days ago, Mr Begin told visitors from the United States the talks must "of course" be conducted in the three capitals: Washington, Cairo and Jerusalem. However, this is not at all a matter of course, there may be other possibilities.

Just as one may suspect that Egypt refuses to come to Jerusalem because it has lost interest in the autonomy plan so one may think that Messrs Begin and Shamir insist on this demand (knowing the Egyptians are opposed to it) because they are not interested in any agreement on autonomy for the Arabs of the administered territories. They time and again declare Israel is prepared to resume the discussions, but--according to the skeptical version--they are truly pleased with the continued stalemate. So long as the stalemate prevails, it is possible to bring more Jews into the territories and to strengthen those elements which, when the time comes, will make formal annexation easier. They find the dispute over the venue for the talks convenient and even if it is settled sometime in the future, any respite until the resumption of the autonomy talks constitutes a gain in order to deepen Israel's hold on the territories.

The interpretation of marking time is currently embraced by diplomats and many journalists outside this region as well as by various elements in the Middle East; namely, Egyptians who suspect Israel and the intentions of its government and Israelis who do not trust the intentions of Anwar al-Sadat's successor. However, this prevailing view need not persuade all of us.

One may think the Egyptian leadership--knowing it will not be able to extract from the Begin-Sharon-Shamir government an autonomy agreement which the Arab world will regard as fulfilling "the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people"--will opt for not making an effort to soften Israel's position and make do with further spectacular declarations of self-determination for the Arabs of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, and if the autonomy talks somehow resume it will reject any Israeli proposal. According to this version, this is the only way Cairo can hope "to return to the lap of the Arab nation."

Is that so? Can the Egyptian leadership convince the Arabs outside Egypt that it has done or that it is doing everything to assure "full" autonomy for the Arabs of "Palestine" envisaged in the Camp David accords if it actually goes to them empty-handed even though it succeeded in regaining sovereignty over the entire Sinai? Egypt would thus be substantiating all the criticism leveled against it since Al-Sadat's visit to Jerusalem: that Cairo signed a separate peace with the Zionist enemy but abandoned the Arabs of the occupied territories to face a bitter end in the hands of Israel. Presumably, President Mubarak and his aides will not be willing to risk a situation of not being able to counter the accusations.

Among President Mubarak's advisers there may be some who are willing to go further and who are pushing for more obstinacy toward Israel because they believe that since Egypt has regained the Sinai it must once again deploy along the same front with other Arab countries. Perhaps they are no longer afraid of us because the IDF has lost the vast Sinai, its early warning advantage, its airbases and other important facilities.

All those subscribing to this view realize it will not be enough to foil the autonomy in order to return to the lap of the Arab nation. It is not enough to point out that Egypt regained its sovereign territory through peaceful

means and that, therefore, Jordan and Syria would benefit by following the same path. An Egypt which takes pride in this accomplishment but which in exchange agreed to demilitarize most of the Sinai and to limit its military force in zone A to just one mechanized division and 230 tanks; an Egypt which in addition admits that it failed in its attempt to assure full autonomy for the Arabs of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip--such an Egypt should be expected to remain isolated in the Arab world and will be denounced for preferring its selfish interest over the aspirations of the Arab nation.

There are still grounds to believe President Mubarak would be deterred by such a prospect, and that he would not want to once again turn the State of Israel into an enemy which Egypt should fear. If these so far reasonable assumptions are not proved absolutely wrong, we should expect the Egyptian leadership to overcome, in one way or another, the Israeli-made Jerusalem obstacle and to begin conducting autonomy negotiations with the aim of extricating an agreement on its nature from us.

The Israeli Government will also have to contemplate or reconsider what it stands to gain from its persistent obstinacy regarding the venue for the talks. This obstinacy is too transparent, it exposes us to accusations that Israel is, in fact, not at all interested in the autonomy.

Mr Begin tries to dispel these suspicions through his frequent declarations that Israel is more than willing to resume the autonomy talks. Incidentally, there is no doubt he does want that, albeit according to his own recipe which the Egyptians are not likely to accept. However, just as Egypt will be forced once again to try its luck in the resumed talks, so will Israel not be able to go on withholding the beginning of the negotiations indefinitely. It will once again be forced to swallow this bitter pill, not with the intention of creating a stalemate but in order to make substantial progress.

The negotiations will be difficult. However, they may be the first serious negotiations and all the events that preceded them may have been merely a prelude.

We witnessed the strength of an international agreement in the case of northern Sinai and Yamit and although there may be no room for deriving implications and historians may in the future write that the Camp David accords succeeded to the extent that they set out explicit and unambiguous guidelines (the Sinai), but proved futile regarding a problem whose solution was worded in vague language (the autonomy), it is yet too early to make such a categorical assertion.

We would be well-advised in determining for ourselves the level of commitment of both Egypt and Israel. Although the U.S. leadership should for the time being not be expected to cast its entire weight on the scales, this situation may also change.

There are those who think only the active intervention of the United States will solve all the differences between Cairo and Jerusalem--and they may be

right. But why should Israel and Egypt be interested in U.S. intervention? Because only strenuous pressure from the superpower may help the Middle East leaders to justify their concessions to their nationalist publics? It would be healthier for both Jerusalem and Cairo to prove to themselves and to the world that they have no need for the tutor from across the seas.

CSO: 4400/277

U.S. POLICY ON PALESTINIAN STATE ANALYZED

TA091142 Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT in Hebrew 9 May 82 p 11

['Amos Karmeli commentary: "A Palestinian State on U.S. Initiative"]

[Text] On 15 August 1979 a U.S. leader published an article in the WASHINGTON POST which made waves. Among other things, it said: "Therefore, it would not be wise to take the risk of weakening a country which is the most important strategic asset remaining to us in the area. If the U.S. Administration's policy causes this, whether through laying the groundwork for an extremist Palestinian state on the Israeli border or by providing insufficient military aid, this will make it easier for the leaders of the Kremlin to fulfill their plans in the Middle East and a strong counterblock to Soviet expansionism in the area will be removed."

"Only by a correct evaluation of the important role played by the State of Israel in the framework of our strategic considerations will we be able to lay the foundations for undermining Moscow's intention of taking control of territories and resources vital to our security and national wellbeing."

These words were written by Ronald Reagan when he was still the governor of California, and who now, as we know, is the President of the United States.

We recall these words now that the State Department spokesman has, for the first time, publicly raised the possibility of the establishment of a Palestinian state. It is superfluous to stress that this is the same Ronald Reagan's State Department.

The State Department spokesman's statements are no coincidence; they express the policy--involving both an examination of public reaction and the crystallization of this policy--of those who run the Department. According to the assessment of State Department experts, polarization in the Arab world will worsen in the near future, mainly because of the severe implications that the Iraq-Iran war has for this world. According to this assessment, Egypt will return to take over its central position among the moderate countries. This bloc will include Saudi Arabia, the Persian Gulf States and Iraq, Jordan and Morocco. Facing this bloc will be Syria and the other extremist countries in the Arab world, such as Algeria, southern Yemen, Libya and the PLO. It is not secret that Egypt is supplying increasingly large quantities of arms to Iraq for its war against Iran.

It is clear that Egypt expects Iraq to pay for this with a renewal of full diplomatic relations with it. This step could lead to breaking the ice and a resumption of relations with the other countries described as moderate. Even Saudi Arabia fears Iran's military successes, which could bring the Islamic ferment closer to its territory. Iraq--in the recent past Saudi Arabia's deadliest enemy--has to date received unprecedentedly large loans from Saudi Arabia, totaling about \$24 billion, to finance the war. The main danger to Israel from this reunion is that Egypt's recovery of its central place among the moderate countries will, among other things, also come at Israel's expense. This comes without breaking the framework of the peace agreement, but accepting Egypt's positions on the continuation of the political process and removing previous bans on the possibility of a U.S. examination of the establishment of a Palestinian state. In the fight for seniority in the moderate (?) bloc, Saudi Arabia will work very vigorously to revive the Fahd plan as an acceptable replacement for the Camp David as part of the political process.

It is against this background that we should understand the State Department spokesman's remarks about the possibility of the establishment of a Palestinian state. We must not be satisfied with presidential candidate Ronald Reagan's remarks about a Palestinian state; we must cope with the view being crystallized in the State Department under President Ronald Reagan's administration.

CSO: 4400/277

'MA'ARIV' COMMENTS ON POLICY TOWARD TERRITORIES

TA091057 Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 9 May 82 p 13

[Commentary by Yosef Tzuri'el: "'Not Built to Rule'"]

[Text] If anyone in the defense establishment thought that there was a shortcut to imposing public order in the administered territories, he has already realized that this is not so.

Israel has been in Judaea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip for 15 years. During this long period of time defense ministers and military governors have changed and with them have changed evaluations and methods of dealing with the hostile population--at times becoming lenient and at other times stringent--but a main guiding line has always been observed: to isolate the terrorists and rioters from among the population, most of which lives quietly throughout the year.

The fire that has raged recently in the area comes, to a great extent, from ignoring this line. The separation of the Civilian Administration from the military government also led to a deterioration. Above all there is a prevalent illusion that the method of shock treatment can impose lasting calm and order.

Along came reality and slapped the faces of both the military government and the Civilian Administration. It turned out that shots fired into the air do not frighten, that death blows to youths do not deter and that hatred of Israel is increasing.

When no magic solution was found to the problem, the security elements met again and, as in the past, examined new approaches. Thus, they returned to the old methods of punishing the parents and teachers of the rioters and using measures which cause less damage, but serve as a partial deterrent.

Perhaps the root of the problem lies in what was said last week by a senior IDF officer: "From the spiritual viewpoint, we are not built to rule over another people. This is the beginning and the end of all our problems in the area."

CSO: 4400/277

DEFENSE EXPENDITURES, LOAN DATA RELEASED BY STATISTICS BUREAU

Rise in Foreign Loans Reported

TA181107 Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 18 May 82 p 3

[Report from Jerusalem by the economic affairs correspondent]

[Excerpt] In 1981 Israel increased by 50 percent its overseas loans in order to finance its deficit in the balance of payment. Two-thirds of the \$4.4 billion deficit was financed by transfers from overseas, and the remaining third of the deficit--\$1.5 billion--financed [apparent line drop in original] the loans only \$1 billion of the deficit.

This data was given yesterday by the Central Bureau of Statistics while publishing the national figures for 1981. It can be seen from the data that in 1981 the productivity of the workers in the business sector went up by 3 percent, in 1980 it went up by 4 percent, and stayed stable in the years 1975-1979. Work productivity in industry went up by 5 percent in 1981 after a decrease of 2 percent in 1980.

Statistics Bureau Data

TA180952 Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 18 May 82 p 2

[Text] Military imports in 1981 came to over \$2.2 billion, an increase of 21 percent over the previous year and the steepest rise in six years. This was one of the facts disclosed yesterday in Jerusalem at a news conference given by the Central Bureau of Statistics.

Defence expenditure in 1981 amounted to 27 percent of the Gross National Product, about twice as high a proportion as that of Israel's neighbours. Syria spent 15 percent of its GNP and Egypt 11 percent. By way of comparison, the Soviet Union spent 13 percent of its GNP on defence and the United States 6 percent.

Israel's foreign trade deficit increased from \$3.9 billion to \$4.4; but if the military element is regarded, the deficit remained stable at \$2.2 billion. Defence construction also increased 10 percent, as compared to a freeze in housing and a decrease in the construction of public buildings in the civilian sector.

The country's total foreign currency debt totalled over \$24 billion in 1981, and even when foreign assets of \$11 billion are subtracted, this still leaves a minus of \$12 billion, \$1.5 billion more than in 1980.

Despite this, private consumption went up by 8-9 percent in 1981, after a decline in the previous year. Among the factors influencing this were increases in trips abroad and increased purchases of consumer durables. This was made possible by an average real increase in net wages of 10 percent.

CSO: 4400/277

## DUDIN APPEALS TO KING HUSAYN

JN171711 Jerusalem in Arabic to the Arab World 1530 GMT 17 May 82

[From "With the Events" program]

[Text] A ceremony was held today to inaugurate a new internal road network in the village of Za'tarah in the Bethlehem District. The ceremony was attended by the heads of the village leagues in the West Bank and senior officials of the Civilian Administration. Our West Bank correspondent Rif'at Qaddur, who attended the ceremony, reports:

Under the patronage of Lt Col Albert Bihar, the civilian administrator in the Bethlehem area, and Bisharah Qumsiyah, head of the Bethlehem Village League, a new internal road network was inaugurated in the village of Za'tarah. The network cost 1.5 million shekels to build. The ceremony was attended by Mustafa Dudin, head of the Hebron Village League; Jamil al-Khatib, head of the Ramallah Village League and Col Yig'al Karmon, adviser on Arab affairs in the West Bank Civilian Administration.

Mustafa Dudin, head of the Hebron Village League, addressed an appeal to King Husayn in which he said [Begin recording] In your name and in the name of the West Bank villages, I extend our greetings to His Majesty King Husayn, the pioneer leader. I beseech him to follow Egypt's example for the sake of a just peace guaranteeing our freedom and existence.

The false slogans which have been raised during the past 30 years have not liberated a single inch of our territory. The thieves and bandits who have appointed themselves as popes, issuing writs of pardon and excommunication, do not own a single meter of this land and do not have a single kinsman among this people. As for the village leagues and the inhabitants of the villages, they are the owners of the land and the kinfolk. They have an interest in peace. [applause]

We openly declare that we will not relinquish a single inch of the land of this homeland. We will not be a party to any formula affecting the rights of this people. [applause] Those who told your majesty that the village leagues are a theatrical group created by Israel have betrayed their trust and erred. The leagues are not for sale. Were they for sale, the Arab side

would be in a better position to buy them, because there lies enormous wealth and a dead conscience. The village leagues are here to build, not to destroy, to construct, not to demolish, to unite, not to divide. We know that God has willed that the two peoples--Arabs and Jews--should live on this land. Peaceful coexistence is the only choice. [applause]

Your Majesty King Husayn: You have the legal power to negotiate for the sake of liberation. We who represent the absolute majority in this land give you full authority to negotiate for the sake of peace. [End recording]

CSO: 4400/277

RAFAH BORDER INHABITANTS TO MOVE

TA161432 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 16 May 82 p 2

[Report by the military correspondent]

[Text] Security sources report about hundred Palestinian families who live on the border in the town of Rafah, have reached an agreement with the Israeli authorities to destroy their houses in exchange for building lots and indemnities for building new houses in the Tal al-Sultan quarter north of Rafah.

These sources said that the evacuation operation is carried out within the framework of a new approach aimed at finally evacuating most of the buildings along the border and to building a border fence appropriate to the security needs in the area.

Military sources say that the inhabitants were not forced to evacuate and destroy their houses; this was done according to an agreement. Each family individually signed an agreement with the Civilian Administration's representatives and will receive appropriate compensation for their house and for moving to another place. Still, it is clear that the situation created after the evacuation along the border has motivated these families to move so as not to stay in the most sensitive section of the town, facing the pressures of various elements including the PLO.

As may be recalled, at the first stage, the defense minister's instruction was not to destroy houses along the border line and he rejected the military's appeals to evacuate houses long the border fence. After the IDF's retreat, there had been several infiltration attempts through the border fence in Rafah. Consequently, the security elements intensified their pressure and finally decided on a new approach striving for the evacuation of the houses after reaching an agreement with the inhabitants living nearby.

Some of the inhabitants claimed that after the border demarcation and the building of the fence their lives became difficult. This claim was made mainly by the owners of houses in whose yards or roofs the border fence passes.

Military sources say that so far about 100 families have agreed to be evacuated of whom 13 are from the Canada refugee camp in the section belonging to Israel.

CSO: 4400/277

ARAB VILLAGES REPORTEDLY RECEIVING PLO MONEY

TA140743 Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 14 May 82 p 3

[Text] Nazareth--The PLO has channelled millions of shekels into Israeli villages in the past two years, under the pretext of "cultural purposes" or "development projects," officials dealing with Arab affairs said yesterday.

They said the money has been delivered to Israeli Arab villages through American and European institutes or funds from various foreign sources. Local councils and students who benefit from the money do not always know its real source, they said.

Arab residents also reported that in some villages, projects have received names such as "Arafat Road" or "Habash School," but they do not have evidence to prove that the money came from Palestinian sources across the border.

The prime ministers' adviser on Arab affairs, Binyamin Gur-Arye said that he intends to find legal ways to stop the flood of contributions from foreign sources whose real identity and purpose are not known.

The issue arose this week when the Interior Ministry permitted the local council of Umm al-Fahm in the triangle, to accept \$6,000 from an organization called the American-Palestinian Institute, the purpose and membership of which are not publicly known. The money will be used to build a science laboratory and a sports field for the local school.

The communist Arabic bi-weekly, AL-ITTIHAD has collected \$100,000 from abroad, a Democratic Front for Peace and Equality [Hadash] spokesman announced. He said the money came from Arab communities in Western Europe and the United States, but not from the PLO. It will be used, he said, to buy a new printing press and other equipment for the newspaper, which celebrated its 39th anniversary this week.

CSO: 4400/277

## SETTLEMENT PLANS IN GAZA STRIP

TA161342 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1100 GMT 16 May 82

[Text] The settlement of 'Azmona, which was evacuated from the Yamit District, has resettled in the southern part of the Qatif bloc in a place called Qatif Zayin near the Nahal outpost of Bedolah. The members of 'Azmona are currently staying in Morag, on the Khan Yunus-Rafah road. Our correspondent on settlement affairs, Shalom Oren, reports on the settlement plans in the Gaza Strip.

[Oren--live] There is no Jewish settlement in the center and north of the Gaza Strip and the policy is that if it is not done today, it will be too late to be done tomorrow. This fact guides settlement elements when considering plans and their implementation. The Jewish Agency Settlement Department has approved a plan to establish five settlements in the center of the Gaza Strip, near Nahal Nezarim, and north of the city of Gaza up to the international border near the Erez border crosspoint, where Moshav Netiv Ha'asara Bet is being established.

Two settlements will be established near Nahal Nezarim: a communal and an agricultural one. Three settlements will be set up in the area between the city of Gaza and Bayt Lahiyah. Meanwhile, a Nahal outpost called Nizanit, has already been established. Part of the settlement will rely on vacationers and tourists, in addition to agriculture, for their income.

In the Qatif bloc, in the southern Gaza Strip, there is an infrastructure for the establishment of six settlements in addition to those already in existence. It should be noted that some 30 families have joined settlements in the Qatif bloc in the last few weeks and this area has become a substitute for the Yamit District settlements.

Construction of the regional center of (Ambar), which will be called Neve Deqalim, has begun on the Qatif bloc. A holiday village for religious people will also be established on the Qatif breach.

The settlers of 'Azmona, which was evacuated from the Yamit District, are currently staying in Morag in the southern Gaza Strip. The member of the

settlements have been allocated land and they have begun working these lands until they move to the nearby permanent settlement of Bedolah, near Khan Yunus.

The Yamit Yeshiva, along with all its buildings and students, is settling in the Qatif bloc. However, its final location has not yet been determined.

CSO: 4400/277

## 'DAVAR' ON SYRIAN-SOVIET THREAT

TA101606 Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 10 May 82 p 7

[Commentary by Yehoshu'a Tadmur: "Damascus Flexes Its Muscles and Threatens Soviet Intervention"]

[Text] The article by the UPI correspondent in Damascus about the Soviet promise to Syria that Soviet forces will provide it with active assistance in the event of an Israeli invasion of Syria or Lebanon provides food for thought and even certain concern. The author is a journalist who has been in Syria for a long time and is acceptable to the Syrian authorities. There is no doubt that all the details he reported concerning the Soviet intervention expected in the event of an Israeli attack were dictated to him by the highest Syrian Government officials.

The UPI correspondent also noted that the heads of the regime in Damascus are firmly resolved and stand prepared with all their power for a confrontation with Israel in the event of an Israeli attack on Lebanon, Syria or both together. Western diplomats in Damascus told the correspondent, Syria's decision to stand ready for an attack seemed to stem from the Soviet promise to help it militarily. Ahmad Iskandar, the Syrian information minister, also spoke to this effect. As reported in the same article, the Syrian position took shape following the appraisal by Damascus that Israel does not intend to strike only in Lebanon but also intends to break the backbone of the Syrian Army, which will rush to the aid of Lebanon.

The turning point in the Syrian position, according to the same correspondent, came after the last visit to Damascus by the commander of the Soviet Air Force, Pavel Kutakhov. Following his visit, Moscow decided to no longer allow Israel to harm its planes and missiles and damage the reputation of Soviet arms.

The serious content of this article is not to be ignored. The appraisals of "semi-experts" that Moscow will not intervene militarily because of its involvement in Afghanistan, Poland, the Horn of Africa and other places because Brezhnev is sick and the regime in the USSR purportedly unstable are not acceptable now to a respectable number of the experts in the West. It is clear that the Soviets are not joyous about a large-scale war in the Middle East

and that a confrontation with the IDF is no small matter in their view. However, when one of their vital interests is involved they are liable to exercise certain force, particularly when it concerns a place near their southern border. Such a danger lurks if a threat to the Syrian regime should develop.

Indeed, in recent weeks it was possible to clearly discern that the Soviets are waiting and are restraining the Syrians. Such was the case after the downing of the two MiGs and after the annexation of the Golan Heights, which shocked the Syrians. In these two cases the Syrians were compelled to bite their tongue and submit to Soviet persuasion. Moreover, until today, following years of Syrian appeals, the Soviets still refuse to approve the full range of modern and sophisticated arms items Syria wants. However, can the UPI correspondent's article be appraised as nothing more than Syrian muscle flexing? Certainly not. It seems that Syria's leaders truly believe that Israel is preparing a large-scale strike against both Lebanon and Syria. If they believe this then Israel's defense minister and all those who went along with him militarily and politically and almost dragged us into a dangerous bloody adventure without equal are deserving of thanks.

If the head of IDF intelligence declared a week ago that a danger exists of war--with Soviet backing--on the part of Syria, then he is one of the main people bearing responsibility--by way of advice, acts and omissions--for what is to be expected. When easier days come and one can discuss these matters, it will become clear to what degree of shallowness and irresponsibility the discussions of Israel's upper defense echelons deteriorated on the eve of such a phony attack, and all this at a time when the prime minister did not understand anything about what was happening around him.

At this stage one can ask: If indeed a Syrian-Soviet threat has appeared on the horizon, why did Major General Sagi have to talk so much and encourage the sabre-rattling which was liable to end in disaster?

The Syrian-Soviet threat would not perhaps merit such importance were it not for one political phenomenon that must cause alarm in Israel. Since the publication of the Israeli-U.S. memorandum of understanding, Soviet propaganda has been making threats against Israel such as we have not heard for many years. The Soviets say explicitly that since the signing of the memorandum the situation in the Middle East has changed and that now they also bear a greater responsibility for what happens, whether we want this or not. Even we know that the Soviets do not want war in the region--not even against Israel--but they themselves are dragged into the situation and drag along others. The grave fear is that the Syrians have decided to try to drag the Soviets into involvement in Syrian-Lebanese airspace and to the border in the north; otherwise, it is difficult to understand the Syrian threats.

In these dangerous days it is better for the men in Israel's upper defense echelons to keep quiet and not play dangerous games of war.

CSO: 4400/277

## 'DAVAR' ON POSSIBLE WAR IN LEBANON

TA161508 Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 16 May 82 pp 7, 8

[Commentary by Hagay Eshed: "Should We Set out to War?"]

[Text] Those who reject a large-scale military operation in Lebanon raise many arguments some of which are valid and some are not, for instance, the argument that it is impossible to solve the Palestinian problem or the PLO problem with military measures. This is a strange argument. Is it possible to start handling if not solving these problems without military measures? After all, the use of terrorism--frightening through terrorist and murderous acts, shooting, shelling and planting mines--is one of the major characteristics of the Palestinian problem. The truth is that any form of handling the Palestinian problem and primarily the PLO problem is inconceivable without using well reasoned, useful and absolutely necessary military measures. The correct questions regarding any large military operation against the PLO and its bases in Lebanon are: Is it absolutely necessary and will it benefit the continued handling of all aspects of the Palestinian problem?? In other words, will a military operation improve the ratio cost to benefit in the continued handling of the Palestinian problem in comparison with the current situation?

One valid argument against the operation is that it will involve victims. How do the opponents put it--wait until the coffins start coming? A threat to human lives continually hangs over the future victims of the terrorist acts such as the pedestrians on Yafo Street in Jerusalem last Friday when only by miracle was a 4-kg mine discovered and dismantled. I, my family members and friends could also have been there. This argument sounds to me a little hollow. One should not speculate about the shedding of blood neither in an argument for nor against a military operation. One should weigh whether the operation is inevitable and useful.

A possible main contention in favor of a large military action against the PLO bases in Lebanon is clearly political--will it weaken the PLO and enable the other Arab elements to start negotiations with Israel on progress toward another political agreement. These other Arab elements may, for example, include King Husayn or true representatives of the population in Judaea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip, all those who now live in the shadow of the terror

of the PLO in Lebanon and dare not make any independent move for themselves and for the Palestinian people due to the corrupt PLO leadership ruling over a quarter of a million refugees who fled the territory of the small Israel prior to the war of independence and who are now concentrated in camps in Lebanon. The houses and lands of these refugees are located on the territory of the "small Israel" according to the Palestinian-PLO myth and it is to it or to its ruins that they want to return, not to Nabulus, nor to Hebron or Gaza. The refugees who came from Yafo, Ramla, Haifa and the Galilee want to return to these places, if they return at all.

As long as the PLO exists militarily in its bases in Lebanon, as long as it is recognized by the Arab League (since the Rabat summit in 1974) as the sole representative of the Palestinian people (and also of the Palestinians in Jordan), there is no chance that other representatives of the Palestinian people will sit down to the negotiation table. As long as the military-political shadow of the PLO is cast over the Middle East arena there is no possibility of even starting negotiations with Israel. In other words, a large military operation against the PLO is an absolutely necessary precondition for any political negotiations with any Palestinian representatives on solving the Palestinian problem. Whoever does not want such progress can object to a military operation against the PLO. Whoever is opposed to a military operation against the PLO must understand that thus he undermines the chances for real negotiations with the real representatives of the Palestinian people living in Judaea, Samaria and Gaza, in Jordan and in other countries, namely, with the decisive majority of the Palestinians.

Under existing circumstances, as long as the PLO exists, King Husayn can tell anyone who urges him to conduct negotiations with Israel--do you want me to alone face the PLO (and the Rabat summit decisions) in order to make any concession to Israel in advance or afterwards? Was it not enough that I fought the PLO in September 1979 and drove it from Jordanian territory? This can be said also by the leaders of the Palestinian population in the West Bank and Gaza. The formidable and heroic IDF is afraid to fight the PLO in Lebanon, justly or unjustly, and sends us to fall prey to the PLO's bullets if we dare conduct real negotiations with Israel which encompass mutual and real concessions. This is the truth. Whoever will not act against the PLO in Lebanon on a large scale prevents thereby any possibility of progress toward negotiations, and vice versa. The conquest of the PLO bases, their destruction and occupation is a primary condition and will serve to speed opening negotiations with true representatives of the Palestinian people with U.S. mediation and perhaps with additional mediation--European or Soviet--along with a dialogue with the Americans.

The question is whether the Israeli Government wants to hold such negotiations and whether this is the real goal it presents for a large military action in Lebanon, whether it understands that this can be the most plausible result of such an action. Another question is whether the Americans are interested in this and whether there is minimal understanding between Israel and the United States on the opening of such negotiations after and as an inevitable result of a large military operation. It is desirable that the understanding between Israel and the United States will apply also to the conditions for ending the war, of the negotiations and of the agreements that will conclude them.

Without minimal understanding between Israel and the United States before or in the course of the action we must not set out on a large military operation in Lebanon. The Americans on their part will have to supply Israel with a military umbrella against Soviet military intervention, if the Syrians indeed interfere and if the Soviets are also called on to intervene. If the objective of the operation is negotiations and agreement and if the Americans promise the Soviets to talk with them over their future moves, there is a chance that such an umbrella will reap success.

Is there such understanding and can it be achieved? This is a question which cannot be answered with open publications. According to the U.S. signals which are as vague as any superpower's signal it is possible to assume that there is a chance for achieving such understanding if an attempt at this is indeed made. Such signal is the visit by the U.S. chief of naval operations to Israel and his open declarations about cooperation with the Israeli Navy, and the visits by the Sixth Fleet ships to Israel's ports. Another such signal is the declaration by the U.S. President and other senior spokesmen of the State Department on resuming the U.S.-Israeli memorandum of understanding on strategic cooperation, one of whose clauses concerns U.S.-Israeli cooperation against a Soviet military threat in the Mediterranean arena. Another signal is the declarations that the autonomy talks may be renewed in the fall, not now. The Israeli-U.S. relations are ideal according to these signals.

The combination of all these does not mean that the United States supports Israel's position on the autonomy issue or an Israeli operation against the PLO in Lebanon or Israel's acts in the West Bank. However, were I a Soviet I would understand these signals as a U.S. warning not to act against Israel which is a U.S. military-strategic asset, at least of the U.S. Sixth Fleet, in the Mediterranean. I would understand that any military Soviet action against Israel may involve a collision with the United States and may necessitate an advance dialogue at least. Such a U.S. umbrella is a mandatory condition for a large Israeli military action against the PLO and the other mandatory condition is that the objective of the action be the start of real negotiations on real progress toward solving the Palestinian problem and that the Americans too will view this as real progress. Without these two conditions we must not set out to war. We should prepare these conditions in advance.

CSO: 4400/277

INCREASED RAKAH ACTIVITY AMONG ARAB DRUZE

TA161929 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1700 GMT 16 May 82

["Evening Newsreel" report by Yo'el Dar--recorded]

[Text] Rakah's activity both in the occupied territories and among the Golan Druze has been manifest in various ways: meetings between leaders of that party and leading public figures from beyond the green line, solidarity rallies with the inhabitants of the territories in Nazareth and other places, publicizing their movements, and establishing peoples' committees whose members express identification with the political bodies that operate in one way or another toward sabotaging the Israeli hold over these territories.

Last week, Nazareth Mayor MK Tawfiq Zayyad met with the deposed mayors of Nabulus and Ramallah, Bassam Al-Shak'ah and Karim Khalaf, and expressed his solidarity with the amazing struggle of the inhabitants of the territories, as he called it.

Earlier, Rakah organized a rally in Nazareth to commemorate (Sultan Basha al-Atrash). The organizers of the rally for some reason failed to mention the fact that the leader of the Druze in Syria and elsewhere had directly and indirectly helped the Jewish inhabitants of Eretz Yisra'el at the time, and hid in his home in Jabal al-Druze in 1946 Jewish and Druze leaders who were active in making it possible for the Jews to return to their country.

Rakah activists are the moving factor behind the shipments of foodstuffs and medication to the Golan Heights strikers. They repeatedly emphasize that the struggle of the inhabitants of the territories and of the Arabs residing in Israel is one struggle since they belong to one people: the Palestinian-Arab people.

Rakah's Arabic language newspaper, AL-ITTIHAD, has recently come out with more and more reports and articles on Judaea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip. However, for the sake of precision and truth let us say that the newspaper editors take pains to note that they are striving toward the establishment of a Palestinian state alongside Israel, not instead of it.

CSO: 4400/277

## DRUZE GROUP TO MOVE TO SYRIA

TA091737 Tel Aviv IDF Radio in Hebrew 1510 GMT 9 May 82

[Excerpt] A group of Druze from the villages in the Golan Heights is preparing to leave the Golan Heights and cross the border into Syria in order to unite with their families on the other side of the border. The first step toward leaving the Golan Heights is the return of old Israeli documents and the receipt of permits to leave for Syria. Our correspondent Menahem Horowitz reports:

[Beging Horowitz recording] The reports this morning about the desire of some Druze to leave the Golan Heights and unite with their coreligionists in Syria did not surprise the various officials who deal with the Druze on the Golan Heights. As early as 4 months ago, three residents of the village of Mas'ada made a similar request of the representative of the Interior Ministry. Two days after submitting the requests they retracted the request. This morning a group of Druze, mainly from the village of Majdal Shams, began to visit the homes of the inhabitants in order to form a large group of Druze residents to seek to leave their homes and move to Syria. It has been learned that a senior police officer received a report about this activity.

Since the beginning of the Druze strike on the Golan Heights the former bi-weekly meetings at the border crossing near Majdal Shams between Druze from the Golan Heights and the Karmel and Druze from Syria have no longer been held. Many Druze have said that they have not met their relatives from Syria for many months. Recently, Druze from Israel have been coming to a hill near the border and making various announcements using loudspeakers to Syrian inhabitants standing on the other side of the border. Now, with the strike in the Golan Heights continuing, a group of Druze has made a final decision to unite with their fellow Druze from Syria. [End recording]

CSO: 4400/277

TRENDS IN PALESTINIAN EMIGRATION REPORTED

Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic No 264, 13 Mar 82 pp 15, 16

[Article: "How Are the Palestinians Emigrating From the Occupied Homeland?"]

[Text] Between 1968 and 1981 135,000 Palestinians emigrated from the West Bank to North and South America and to neighboring Arab countries. This emigration has been primarily linked to Israeli aggression and Israeli mistreatment of the Arab inhabitants.

Experts on the emigration say that the destinations of the emigrants vary according to the various Palestinian cities of their origin. Inhabitants of Bethlehem, for example, choose Central and South America--countries such as Chile, Peru and Honduras, and the Caribbean islands. Inhabitants of Ramallah emigrate to North America, particularly to Chicago and Detroit. In contrast, the residents of Qalqiliyah, Nablus and Tulkarm emigrate to the Arab countries, particularly the Gulf states.

The Armenians, who numbered about 17,000 in 1950, now number 2,500 according to the latest count made by Bir Zeit University. The members of the Armenian diaspora migrate to the United States and to Soviet Armenia. Residents of Jerusalem, who are generally distinguished by their high level of education and their familiarity with western culture emigrate to Lebanon, Amman, London and Paris.

The rate of emigration from Gaza is less than that from the West Bank, possibly because the people of Gaza have a lower educational level. They had been emigrating to Egypt prior to 1967. Today they go to Jordan and the Gulf states, particularly Saudi Arabia.

According to a report issued by the Center for Palestinian Studies 287,000 people left the West Bank between 1948 and 1967, most going to the Gulf countries.

The report stresses that the West Bank is losing a large proportion of its inhabitants. It notes that 1981 saw the departure of 24,152 people. In accordance with a program for reuniting families 50,000 people have been allowed to enter the West Bank since 1968, while only 5,000 were allowed to enter Gaza in the same period.

This is due to the Zionist policy which uses every method possible to induce or force the Arab inhabitants to emigrate and replace them with Jewish settlers.

If the Arabs do not take steps to halt the matter one way or another, and if the Palestinian question is not settled, the day will come in the distant future when Israel will have been able to drive most of the Palestinian Arab inhabitants from their land, both the part occupied before 1967 and the part occupied after 1967, and no Arab presence will be left to resist the Zionist settlers and their expansionist plans.

It should be noted with regard to this matter that the Israel's policies of coerced emigration and pressure are still continuing and were not affected by French President Mitterrand's visit to Israel.

9123

CSO: 4404/401

AL-NAJAH UNIVERSITY OFFICIAL COMMENTS ON UNIVERSITY'S PROBLEMS

Amman AL-RA'Y in Arabic 7 Mar 82 pp 1, 19

[Article: "Hikmat al-Misri Tells AL-RA'Y: 'Village Leagues' Is a Dubious Idea; Al-Najah University's Problems are Completely Over"]

Amman--AL-RA'Y--Mr Hikmat al-Misri, the chairman of the board of trustees of al-Najah University in Nablus announced that all the university's problems, which had kept the university closed for a period of time, were over.

Mr al-Misri added, "The crisis between the board of trustees and certain members of the university's faculty and staff, which began with the termination of the contracts of four professors holding baccalaureate degrees, was settled when the board of trustees decided to return the dismissed teachers to their posts.

"The crisis was, regrettably, an invented one, because the board of trustees' decision was an academic one used by every university in the world to improve its educational standards. The board of trustees' insistence on the autonomy of the university and maintenance of its academic freedom are issues that are not pleasing to the forces which are attempting to intervene in the university to reduce its autonomy and create anarchy in it.

"The board decided to expand to a total of 18 members instead of 12. That will be done in the next few weeks. The board also decided to add honorary members to the board of trustees from the sister Arab countries to affirm al-Najah University's national role in the occupied territory."

"The board of trustees granted broad powers to the board of deans, while the powers and responsibilities of the board of trustees came to be bound by the provisions of the university's laws and regulations."

The chairman of the board of trustees noted the role of nationalist personalities within the occupied territory who had used their good offices to end the dispute which had led to the closing of the university.

Mr al-Misri criticized the so-called village leagues in the occupied territory, calling them a dubious idea whose purpose is to weaken the unity of the Palestinian people and to deny the legitimate rights of our people in the occupied territory.

He said, "This was a stillborn idea, and is doomed to failure because our people are too alert to allow such conspiracies to get by them."

Mr al-Misri had visited Saudi Arabia on a fund raising mission for the university.

Al-Najah University reopened late last month after suspending classes for a two-month period. Unfortunate things happened because of the dispute between the board of trustees and members of the teaching organization.

9123

CSO: 4404/401

## BRIEFS

**MILITARY GOVERNOR REMOVALS DENIED**--In reaction to a report that an IDF commander and three district governors were removed from their positions due to irregular acts in the territories, the IDF spokesman has stated that he knows nothing of any recent case involving the removal of any military governor due to inappropriate conduct toward the residents of the territories. The report was aired on television citing a United Kibbutz Movement document. The IDF spokesman says a company's reserve commander was suspected of improper behavior and, because of this, when he wanted to sign up for the career army he was rejected. [Text] [TA152118 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 2100 GMT 15 May 82]

**OFFICIALS REMOVED AFTER 'IRREGULARITIES'**--And IDF commander was removed from his post and three governors of Judaea and Samaria districts were recently transferred to different positions following irregular acts reported by the Kibbutzim members serving in Judaea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip. This is revealed in a document of the security committee of the United Kibbutz Movement which was disseminated in all the Kibbutzim belonging to this movement. Our settlement affairs correspondent Yig'al Goren reports that about 2 weeks ago the United Kibbutz Movement's security committee issued a call to its soldiers serving in the regular and reserve army stating that reports on irregular acts in Judaea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip--acts which damage the purity [tohar] of arms and the morality of the army and its soldiers--have recently reached the movement's security committee. The circular, disseminated in all the movement's kibbutzim, states that the information on the irregular acts was transmitted to senior IDF elements, after which a commander was removed and three district governors were transferred to other positions. The movement's security committee notes that every order given during training, fighting and current security tasks in the West Bank and Gaza should be carried out but that it is important to report irregular acts. [Text] TA152001 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1900 GMT 15 May 82]

**GOLAN SETTLEMENT SITE**--[Report by Menahem Rahat]--In the last few days groundbreaking work has begun on the eastern boundaries of the Golan Heights for the establishment of the permanent site of Moshav Alone Habashan, which was first set up on the Golan a year ago and is now located in the temporary site allocated it, not far from the permanent venue. Moshav Alone Habashan is the eastern-most settlement in Israel, located close to the same longitudinal line as Jordan's capital, Amman. [Text] [TA141154 Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 14 May 82 p 12]

'SETTLERS TO GOLAN' CAMPAIGN--A new campaign for populating the Golan Heights is beginning today. The goal of the campaign is to bring an additional 20,000 Jewish settlers to the Golan Heights. The campaign is being conducted by the organization that directs people to development towns. In the first stage the organizers wish to fill vacant places in Golan Kibbutzim, then vacant places in the Moshavim and finally expand urban settlements of the Golan Heights. About 8,000 Jews currently live in the Golan. [Text] [TA170710 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 0600 GMT 17 May 82]

EGYPTIAN AGRICULTURAL DELEGATION--Bet Dagan, 17 May--A nine member delegation of senior Egyptian researchers headed by Dr (Shinbi Ziqri) arrived last night as the guests of the Bet Dagan Agricultural Research Administration and the Agriculture Ministry. The members of the delegation met this morning with their fellow researchers at Bet Dagan and held a joint working session on cooperation between the two countries on the salinity of the soil and irrigation. Dr (Shinbi Ziqri) is the director of the Cairo Land and Water Institute, and he was accompanied by a delegation of senior researchers from Cairo and Alexandria. The delegation will remain in Israel 5 days and will tour various areas. [Text] [TA171411 Tel Aviv in Hebrew 1350 GMT 17 May 82]

ISRAELI WEAPONS IN FRG--The director general of Israel Aircraft Industries has ordered the forming of an investigation committee to examine how, over a period of 8 months, an armored vehicle, an antiaircraft cannon and a recoilless gun disappeared. The weapons were shipped to Latin America for an exhibition about 1 year ago and on their way back to Israel they disappeared. A short time ago they were discovered in an abandoned ship in Hamburg port in West Germany. [Excerpt] [TA121958 Jerusalem Domestic Television Service in Hebrew 1900 GMT 12 May 82]

CSO: 4400/277

LEBANON

SARKIS, 'ARAFAT ON SOUTH LEBANON SITUATION

PM210705 Jidda 'UKAZ in Arabic 19 May 82 p 1

[Mustafa Idris report: "In Telephone Interviews with 'UKAZ, Sarkis, 'Arafat Say Israeli Invasion Imminent"]

[Text] Beirut--In two telephone interviews with 'UKAZ yesterday, Lebanese President Llyas Sarkis and PLO Chairman Yasir 'Arafat emphasized that Israel is seriously preparing to mount an all-out invasion of Lebanese territory and that this invasion is imminent.

President Sarkis said that Israel is seriously preparing to invade Lebanon and that the recent Israeli aggressions against Lebanon are assuming a new form confirming its intention to fully occupy parts of Lebanon.

In his conversation with 'UKAZ, the Lebanese president urged all Arab sides to realize the seriousness of the situation. He said that Israeli shelling has subsided as a result of bad weather.

The line with the president was cut off owing to the bad weather.

In his interview with 'UKAZ inquiring about the Palestinian position, Yasir 'Arafat stressed that the situation on the Lebanese border is still the same, that tension prevails and that the PLO is in a state of alert and readiness in anticipation of an Israeli attack, which is expected at any moment.

He said that Israeli aircraft are making regular overflights but there has been no actual violation of the cease-fire. He added that the Israeli movements indicated that a large-scale invasion is imminent. He noted that Israel has even said so officially. All indications are, he said, that Israel is preparing to deal a blow to the Palestinians in southern Lebanon, where it has amassed four divisions for the purpose. He added that Israel is making threats daily.

On Zaire's restoration of relations with Israel, Yasir 'Arafat said: We have condemned this move and we have criticized the Zaire Government. We are holding contacts with the Arab league and the Islamic states. Our condemnation and criticism have been conveyed to the Zaire Government, which is in collusion with the Zionists.

He expressed the hope that all the Arab states will take a stand against Zaire.

On the transfer of Costa Rica's Embassy to occupied Jerusalem, 'Arafat said: This reflects Arab weakness and fragmentation. If it were not for this state of affairs, no state such as Costa Rica would dare to give in to Zionist pressure.

'Arafat affirmed that it is not a question of Sinai, because some states consider Israel's withdrawal from Sinai a justification for restoring relations with Israel. He added that the issue here is the Palestinian people's cause. If the African states severed their relations with Israel after 1973 because it occupied African territory, they must remember the sufferings of the Palestinian people under occupation for the past 34 years. The Palestinian people are still suffering coercion and persecution.

On the possibility of Egypt's return to the Arab fold, the Palestinian leader said: Contacts are under way with the Arab states, and they will be made public when the time comes, but we still reject Camp David because we want our rights undiminished. These are our rights to repatriation, self-determination, and an independent state. We are against Camp David autonomy because it does not give the Palestinians their legitimate national rights. This is why we cannot change our policy on Camp David.

CSO: 4400/278

'AL-SAFIR' PLEADS FOR SYRIAN-PALESTINIAN AGREEMENT

PM201335 Beirut AL-SAFIR in Arabic 14 May 82 pp 1, 7

[Talal Salman article: "Let Us Begin Saving the Steadfastness Triangle in Tripoli"]

[Excerpts] The Lebanese nationalist has a right to demand the full rights of an ally. He is a fully fledged partner in the battle of common destiny; he is an excellent fighter for the cause, as proved by the sacrifices he made in past years and sufferings he endured--suffering that taxed his nerves, emotions, aspirations and love for life.

He fought with his brothers and was equally efficient and capable. He fought in order to protect them and, sometimes, fought on their behalf in order to preserve the nation's honor, and in so doing he gave as would the most faithful and the staunchest believer.

He fought the most difficult fight, fighting against himself: He took up arms against his own government when he saw that it was not fulfilling its duty and was trying to avoid carrying out its national task.

In fact he fought and is still fighting against those who went astray among his own immediate brothers, whether their going astray was due to the incitement of sectarian strife or to links with the enemy and foreign conspiracies that threaten Lebanon's Arab identity and national role.

In view of all this the Lebanese nationalist believes that his Syrian and Palestinian brothers, the two other sides in the triangle of steadfastness, owe it to him to preserve his right to make his own decision in matters concerning his country's internal affairs, so that he will be a real, strong and capable ally whose ability and freedom of will are not hampered while he is fighting with them the battle of common destiny.

Inasmuch as this Lebanese nationalist is strong and his decision and will are respected, the relations between Lebanon and Syria will become distinctive and very special, almost verging on unity.

Inasmuch as this Lebanese nationalist is strong and his decision and will be respected, his offerings for the Palestinian cause and for the Palestinian people's armed struggle will be greater and more honorable both for himself and the cause. Only a free man gives without asking and fights battles of liberation regardless of the cost and sacrifices. The experience of our Palestinian brothers is a living example.

For this reason we urge on our brothers, comrades-in-arms and partners of our destiny the need for a series of steps immediately and without delay to rescue us and themselves. The most important steps, as an example, could be the following:

First, that the Syrian and Palestinian commands meet at the highest level in order to agree on a plan to confront the present dangers--the fateful dangers involved in the Arab-Israeli conflict, the Iraq-Iran war, and what is being planned for Egypt.

We are not asking or expecting that there should be total agreement but there must be a clear agreement defining action to be taken in respect of all matters agreed on.

Second, that the two allies should decide on a specific policy toward Lebanon, its government, its regime and its popular forces. This policy should be adopted as a program side by side with the program of their ally in Lebanon, the nationalist forces, and compatible with the latter's legitimate aspirations. None of them should separately decide on a Lebanese policy that is contrary to or clashes with the policy of the other ally or with the party concerned or with both.

Third, that the two brothers must organize their relations with the Lebanese nationalist ally in a manner that would achieve the desired national objectives--objectives which can be achieved only if the Lebanese nationalist is the initiator and the decisionmaker and enjoys the backing of his two brothers and all the Arab brothers politically, militarily, materially and morally.

We are not fond of shedding tears over the past, but if it had been possible to reach such healthy relations in the past between the partners in the battle of destiny, Anwar al-Sadat would not have been able to carry out his "initiative" that led to Camp David and peace with the Israeli enemy, and, needless to say, Bashir al-Jumayyil would not have become a marshal or a "commander," sometimes threatening people with his "liberation" decisions and at other times bestowing his magnanimity on them.

However, if for one reason or another we were unable to spare ourselves and our nation the calamities that have befallen us since 1976 and to this day, then at least we should learn the lesson of the painful, costly and tragic experiment and so spare ourselves and our nation the risk of living through the same ordeal twice.

So let us be frank, sincere and clear with one another: Tripoli is not the place where the fate of the Gulf war will be determined, nor the future of "Arab solidarity," nor reconciliation with Husni Mubarak and acceptance of him as leader of the procession under the banner of Camp David. This cannot be determined in Beirut, in its suburbs or in the suffering southern Lebanon. Indeed, all these areas, inhabitants and genuine forces must be protected if we really want to protect Syria, the Palestinian resistance and what is left of Lebanon.

CSO: 4400/278

PAPERS DISCUSS DRAPER'S 'TASK'

NC211638 Beirut Domestic Service in Arabic 0530 GMT 21 May 82

[From the Press Review]

[Text] AL-NAHAR newspaper discusses [U.S. deputy assistant secretary of state] Draper's task. It says that the task falls within the category of preservation of calm in the south and that his contacts and tour in the area will focus on achieving a standard concept of the cease-fire [in southern Lebanon] following the controversy that has arisen in this regard among Israel, Washington and the PLO. The paper says that, as far as Lebanon is concerned, the question is not what Draper brought with him but what U.S. Ambassador Dillon is bringing with him from Washington after the U.S. Government recalled him, together with U.S. ambassadors accredited to a number of Middle East capitals, for consultations on the situation the region and to chart U.S. policy after the Israeli withdrawal from Sinai.

AL-NAHAR does not exclude the possibility that Dillon is bringing with him a message for President Sarkis dealing with the general situation in the area and the course of U.S. policy in the coming phase.

In its political analysis, al-Safir focuses on Morris Draper's tour. It says: The question which political circles have been pondering is: Why did not U.S. presidential envoy Philip Habib come this month, as was expected, instead of Assistant Secretary of State for Middle Eastern Affairs Morris Draper? AL-Safir adds: The reason for this question is that these circles believe that this determines the extent of the U.S. administration's interest in the area and in Lebanon. Until these circles learn the dimensions of the U.S. envoy's task, they believe that the weakness in representation by sending Draper this time predetermines the extent of the influence the U.S. administration wishes to have with regard to the issues that now preoccupy the region, particularly those preoccupying Lebanon and the Lebanese.

AL-ANWAR comments on the same subject. It says: The purpose of Draper's task is to improve the situation on the border between Lebanon and Israel, according to General Haig. However, Draper is incapable of giving a reasonable answer to a simple question which President Sarkis might put forward, such as: What will the cease-fire lead to without a political dialogue and negotiations on a settlement? In other words, are we facing a freeze [of the situation] that will lead to a settlement or a freeze that will lead to an explosion?

The newspaper AL-LIWA discusses Draper's program and his meeting today with President Sarkis, Prime Minister al-Wazzan and Foreign Minister Butrus. The paper points out that Lebanon will ask the United States to help it in reviving the plan for widespread deployment of the UN forces in the south, consolidation of the cease-fire in southern Lebanon and an explanation of the U.S. interpretation of this [cease-fire] agreement.

AL-BAYRAQ newspaper says that Foreign Minister Butrus has put five important subjects before Mr Draper: 1. The U.S. stand on the development of the situation in the area and its view on possible solutions in the phase following Israel's withdrawal from Sinai. 2. The cease-fire in the south. 3. Lebanon's fear about Israel drawing the water from the al-Kitani River. 4. The implementation of the UN resolutions, particularly resolution 501 issued by the Security Council. 5. The discussion of the new developments in the Lebanese arena.

AL-'AMAL newspaper says that the U.S. envoy's primary concern has been to define his task by emphasizing that the U.S. administration believes that the cease-fire in the south must be consolidated, that it attaches great importance to this in the present and the coming phases and that it otherwise fears a deterioration [in the situation] in the border area.

CSO: 4400/278

KLIBI VIEWS ARAB STRATEGY FOR SOUTH

NC231406 Beirut Domestic Service in Arabic 1130 GMT 23 May 82

[Text] Arab league Secretary General Chedli Klibi has stated that the unified Arab strategy on southern Lebanon cannot be implemented without domestic Lebanese to be defined by the Lebanese Government.

Klibi made this statement in an interview which the weekly MONDAY MORNING will publish tomorrow. Asked how it was possible to avoid an Israeli attack to occupy southern Lebanon, Klibi said: A terrorist state, which was established on aggression and expansion by the force of arms and which is governed by a racist tyrant, will undoubtedly continue to pursue all types of violence and aggression as long as it is absolved of all types of penalties, as long as the United States patronizes its actions and does not consider them as threats to the peace in the region or as having a real effect on the relations of friendship and cooperation between the Arab states and the West, and as long as our states are divided over truly secondary issues which obstruct their solidarity on basic issues.

Asked about the future of the Arab strategy in the south, Klibi recalled that this strategy was decided at the FEZ summit and that the resolution in this regard provided for the formation of a body from seven Arab states to implement this strategy. Klibi added that the Lebanese Government prepared a preliminary concept of this plan and that the military part of it has been referred to a subcommittee consisting of the chiefs of staff of the seven states, but that the subcommittee has postponed its meeting until early June.

Klibi stated: I would like to add that all our Arab states shoulder a big duty which they must carry out in the best way possible. However, the Arab league will not be able to discharge this responsibility fully and to guarantee that its efforts will produce the desired results if it is not supported by an internal Lebanese effort that will contribute to the narrowing of the gap among the various disputant trends on the basis that the sound rebuilding of the state's institutions in a way acceptable to all is primarily and basically a Lebanese affair. It is possible for the Arab states, or rather they must contribute to this, the way the Lebanese Government wants. However, the Lebanese effort, Klibi added, remains the cornerstone without which no plan can be implemented to produce the desired results.

CSO: 4400/278

LEBANON

BRIEFS

TURKISH, SPANISH, MAURITANIAN AMBASSADORS--The diplomatic credentials of the new ambassadors of Turkey, Yunus Gucel, Spain, (Marquis of Jura Real), and Mauritanian, Mohamed Mahmoud Ould Wedady, were received by Lebanese President Ilyas Sarkis in the presence of Foreign Affairs and Expatriates Minister Fu'ad Butrus last week. [NC222137 Beirut MONDAY MORNING in English 10-16 May 82 p 12]

CSO: 4400/278

## TOP ADVISOR GIVES RECOLLECTIONS OF EXPERIENCES WITH ROYAL FAMILY

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic 27 Mar-2 Apr, 3-9 Apr 82

/Article by Huda al-Murr: "Ahmed Bensouda Relates the Story of 50 Years of Political Struggle to AL-MAJALLAH"/

/No 111, 27 Mar-2 Apr 82, pp 25, 27-30/

/Text/ Mr Ahmed Bensouda, the director of the Moroccan royal court and counsellor to King Hassan the Second, is one of the most long-standing, deep-rooted of Arab political and diplomatic fighting men. As well as occupying high official positions in Morocco and representing it in Arab and international gatherings, Mr Bensouda took part in the struggle for independence starting at age 10. To that one might add that he is a poet and orator of high merit. In addition to his political and diplomatic activity, Bensouda worked in the press and has written numerous works of poetry and literature. AL-MAJALLAH met Ahmed Bensouda in Morocco and made a tour of his recollections with him in two instalments. Here is the first of them:

Before starting with his childhood, it is worth pointing out that Mr Ahmed Bensouda started his first professional activity in the press in 1947, when he assumed the position of managing editor of the Moroccan newspaper AL-RA'Y AL-'Amm, which at that time was the organ of the Choura and Istiqlal Party. In 1951 he represented Morocco at the Arab League session and at two United Nations Organization sessions which were held in Paris and New York. In 1962 he was appointed "agent" (governor) of Kentra Province. In 1964 he assumed the directorate general of Moroccan radio and television. On top of that, he was Morocco's ambassador to Lebanon for a long time, was subsequently elected representative to the second Moroccan parliament and occupied the post of governor of the Western Sahara.

Regarding his origins, Mr Ahmed Bensouda states, "If I want to talk about origins, my origins go very, very far back. When people talk about origins, they must show what origins they mean. I am Ahmed Bensouda, born 20 January 1920, 6 years after proclamation of the protectorate. I spent my childhood in the shadow of the great world war, and spent my youth in the shadow of the Moroccan war which began with the start of the 20th century and ended only in 1926, that is, 6 years after the start of the political struggle. My family, the Souda family, is descended from an Arab family of the Quraysh tribe, Bani Murrah, that migrated from the al-Hijaz to Yemen with the conquering army then moved to Damascus. When the Omayyad Empire

collapsed, it moved again, with the Omayyads, to Andalusia. We resided in the city of Grenada, where ibn al-Khatib wrote his famous book 'Comprehensive Grasp of the History of Grenada.' In his book, among the scholars, literary figures and poets, the author mentioned three people from the Souda family."

/Question/ When did you reach Morocco?

/Answer/ Six hundred years ago one of our ancestors came to Morocco on invitation from the Merinid caliph to reform the judiciary system. Since then, the Souda family has held positions as judges of Islamic law and preachers in mosques. I came into the world in the city of Fez where the Friday mosques were divided up between the El-Fassi family, one of whom was the leader Allal El-Fassi, and the Souda family. As soon as the colonialists took over Morocco, our family withdrew into itself because it refused to cooperate with them. I first became conscious of the world when Morocco seethed with internal resistance, the whole family suffered in turn, and my parents and my uncles contented themselves with eking out a living and refrained from beautifying their homes. I always heard arguments between my parents. My father would tell my mother, "We will never buy anything. We are in the 14th century." As a child, I did not understand what that meant. I was brought up, in that heavily charged atmosphere, in the midst of a family which had the glories of 6 centuries behind it, and I became aware of how my family dealt with the ruling Alaouite family. No king reigned alongside whom, or in whose service, there had been no one from the Souda family. Ahmed Bensouda worked with King Hassan the First, the grandfather of King Hassan the Second; he was my great-uncle. Therefore we can observe how the generations come together in the midst of a people who were aggrieved because they had lost their freedom, among a people fighting to regain this freedom, in the embrace of a family which had its glories along with the glories of all the Moslem Arabs. In this milieu, my grandfather, my father's father, who was a judge and a mufti, sired five young men, all of whom were learned men and poets, except for my father, who was only a scholar and religious jurist. Of course, in this environment, I went to religious school and memorized the holy Koran when I was a boy of 10. I started to write poetry when I was 13.

#### The First Qasidah

/Question/ Do you remember the first qasidah you wrote?

/Answer/ The first qasidah I published was a eulogy for a scholar from my family, El Taleb Bensouda, who was a scholar and outstanding calligrapher. He wrote out many copies of the holy Koran, one of which I still have in my office. When God took him away, the custom among us in the city of Fez was for the family of the departed to visit the grave on the third day after the death and recite qasidahs and eulogies over the deceased person's grave. When everyone had assembled before the grave, I went up to them, saying 'Pains and my thinking with vexations is hurting; in my heart are woes and in my eye tears; in my heart, tormented with concern and sorrow, is the commander of my grief, and you can see him shining.' This qasidah was published in a newspaper which came out at that time named AL-SA'DAH. Then the rosary of poetry was recited again, through me."

/Question/ We have spoken about your childhood. How did you make the transition from that to adulthood?

/Answer/ I still remember an event which took place as if it had happened just now. In the month of May 1930, when I was no more than 10, the normal procedure was for us to take off Thursday and Friday morning to perform the prayer. Directly after that we would eat, then go to religious school. Since we were small, we did not go to the mosque to pray but slipped out to play; as soon as we saw the people who had gone to pray leaving the mosque, we would go home to have lunch and tell our family that we had performed the prayer obligation. On that day in the month of May I went home and my father asked me "Did you pray, Ahmad?" I said "Yes." He asked, "In what mosque?" I replied, "In the al-Andalus Mosque." He then asked me "What did the man giving the sermon say?" My answer was "I was far away and did not hear him." At that point my father got angry and said "What did they do when the prayer ended?" I said, "I went out in a hurry because the religious school was expecting me." At that point my father realized that I had not prayed and he hit me. I went into the kitchen and found my mother crying, and told her "Why are you crying? Because my father hit me? I was not hurt by the blow." At that point she pushed me away, saying "I don't care about you." I asked her, "What is with you today? He hits me and you cry. What has happened?" She said, "If you had prayed with the people today you would have known what has happened." After I insisted, she said, "The nationalists read out the name of gracious God because the French tried to convert our Berber brothers to Christianity today, and they took Taher El Bariri prisoner." I asked her, "Who are these nationalists?" She said, "Go look for them, you will find them." After only a few days I joined the National Action Bloc. There I started my political activity before I reached 10 years of age. I say "political action", meaning what was suitable for a child who had gone into a small cell and grown up with the struggle. And this is a story that is more than 50 years old.

#### The National Action Bloc

/Question/ Could we learn a little bit about the start of your struggle in this small cell?

/Answer/ I joined a group of students. There were teachers with us who belonged to the National Action Bloc; they guided us and told us the history of Islam and the Moslems, the glories of the Arabs and Morocco, and the role of Islam and the Arabs in human civilization. They also taught us patriotic songs and anthems. Among those anthems I remember "The countries of the Arabs are my nations from the Levant to Tetouan," and "Imprison us, chain us, we are not concerned about fetters; we have firmly resolved to fight with iron." We memorized many anthems, starting with the anthems of Egypt and ending with the anthems of North Africa; "Salute Africa, salute Africa, worshipers." We trained in giving speeches and competed to memorize poetry and write articles.

/Question/ In Arabic?

/Answer/ Of course. All this took place in Arabic. I can say that our generation did not learn writing, poetry or journalism in the schools and the universities,

because the curricula in village schools were restricted to Islamic jurisprudence, unification and some old literary works. Our studies consisted of courses where the teacher would sit down and dictate lessons and the relationship between the student and the teacher ended there. There were no examinations and no applied academic obligations. Conversely, there were societies, which nationalists ran, that were the real schools in terms of work and application. These great men belonged to the National Action Bloc, which was the first Moroccan nationalistic organization to appear; it lasted from 1930 to 1936. That year a split occurred within it and the National Party, which today is called the Istiqlal Party, branched off from it, as did the National Movement, which subsequently developed into the Choura and Istiqlal Party. Today it is known as the Destour Party.

/Question/ To what group did you belong?

/Answer/ At that time I belonged to the Choura and Istiqlal Party, that is, the National Movement. I continued to exercise my party obligations for a long time.

/Question/ You started your fighting activity from the time you became aware of the word "liberation," that is, at the age of 10?

/Answer/ In 1936 when I was 16 I took part in demonstrations. I went out on the street, crying out along with the demonstrators, until the occupation authorities started to arrest Moroccans, and I escaped with those who were fleeing. However, I stayed with the fighting movement; we collected money, helped the families of prisoners, looked after activity in the cells, and taught people what we had learned. We also sent news to the prisoners and used the British mail to send articles to the east, where the press was launching a big campaign against French colonialism. In 1937, when I turned 17, I went out on a massive demonstration. That was the day I gave the first speech to massive crowds of demonstrators. My speech revolved around France's harsh abuse of prisoners.

#### After Prison

/Question/ Weren't you subjected to imprisonment, like the rest of your comrades?

/Answer/ I repeatedly managed to escape prosecution by the occupation authorities, and this helped me send a cable of protest to the general resident Nogues. At that point I was arrested and sentenced to jail for a month. I considered that I was not an important person and that my activity was of no importance as far as the French went. The sentence handed down against me implied great disparagement of my personality--otherwise I would have been dealt with and imprisoned for a longer period, like the other freedom-loving prisoners who were sentenced for years. Therefore the enemy was not afraid of me. That caused me terrible psychological pain.

/Question/ What missions were assigned to you after prison?

/Answer/ I went out after a month and continued my combative work. Our generation's mission was to follow up on the struggle of the freedom-loving citizens who had gone before us, because France had imprisoned some nationalist leaders and had

exiled others. For example, it had exiled Allal El Fassi to Gabon. It had exiled Mr Mohamed Ben Hassan El Ouazzani, may God have mercy on him, to the Sahara. France imagined that it had cut off the "serpent's head." Here I can say that our generation deserves thanks because it continued the tradition of these heroes. We continued to hold all the rallies they had held to enlighten the people, and we followed through with the organization of cells and the training of personnel, whom we prepared to struggle and conduct holy war. We celebrated numerous occasions.

/Question/ For example?

/Answer/ The prophet's birthday. We gave great importance to that, in order to strengthen the people's resolve and encourage them. The same with all our religious holidays. If an exalted learned man or sheik died, we would turn his death into a national occasion through which we could nurture nationalists in a patriotic manner. At night we organized cells at all levels. We continued to do that until 1938. At that time France sent a delegation of socialists to learn about conditions in Morocco, headed by a person named (Dusaint ). Our mission at that time was to inform this delegation of the whole truth. I and some comrades actually wrote a 50-page memorandum which, through some ruse, we managed to send to the delegate in the city of Fez. When he read it he realized that the French administration has prevented us from getting to him. We also managed to send our memorandum abroad, since it was published in French and Arabic newspapers at that time. It also was published in a Moroccan paper called AL-ZAHRA'. Because it published the memorandum, the paper was prohibited from appearing for a period of 6 months by orders of the French administration. We were also sentenced to prison for 3 months, I and some of my comrades--Mehdi El Oudghiri, Abdallah El Hababi, and Hammad Laraki. At that time they took us from Fez to Sharifa; one day we traveled about 70 kilometers. Everyone who went on that trip with me is still alive. After that, secret nationalist activity started to intensify and I was arrested again on the charge of getting in touch with the outside world and agitating in the north. Naturally the north was on the side of Spain, which was a client of Germany's.

/Question/ What was the nature of your relationship with the north at that time?

/Answer/ In actuality, we were supplying the northern area with information. At that point France made a mountain out of a molehill and considered that we were cooperating with the enemy. They kidnapped me and my family was cut off from news about me, making my mother, may God have mercy on her, die out of grief and sorrow over me. She died while in the full flower of youth, before reaching 39 years of age. My mother departed without leaving me a trace of herself, even a picture. As soon as I learned of her death I mourned her with a qasidah and then refrained from writing poetry, since I considered it a kind of indulgence, as we were in a gruelling struggle which made it mandatory to mobilize all our forces.

#### Military Rule

/Question/ What happened after you left prison?

/Answer/ After I left prison, I received the military sentence issued against me which was a year in prison and 20 years in exile, most warmly. After I completed my period of confinement in Kenitra prison, I was exiled to the town of Meknes. However, the enemy became distressed over my activity in Meknes and I was moved to the mountains 80 kilometers north of Fez. There I spent more than 3 years, during which I got in touch with nationalists by my own means and guided them.

/Question/ How was the process of contacting citizens carried out while you were being watched?

/Answer/ Through the hospital. The doctor was in collusion with us, as were all the people working in the hospital. They facilitated my meetings with the citizens. We continued like this for 3 years. Finally the colonialists realized what I was doing and said their piece: "The best place to exile Ahmed Bensouda is to put him under house arrest in Fez, and he must not leave it again. His presence there will have no effect, since the whole city is nationalistic." Thus I went back to Fez to earn a new badge in the struggle. I took part in the independence events of 11 January 1944. I was one of 11 people the French administration held responsible for the incidents that occurred. Thus we spent a whole year in the Bordj El Nour prison, and then they moved us, me and my comrades, to a prison located south of Casablanca, where we spent another 6 months. Thus we were imprisoned for 18 months for the independence struggle and for demanding our freedom. We left prison only after a pardon was issued us on 14 July 1945.

#### An Arabic Lesson

Mr Bensouda continued the narrative of events, saying "I went back to my home, the city of Fez, but did not stay there long. I left it and headed for Casablanca, to teach the Arabic language at Moulay Hassan School. In reality, teaching was a cover as far as I was concerned; my basic mission began at dusk, and that was to form cells. I continued to busy myself with teaching during the day and to form cells at night until 15 April 1947. On that day, King Mohamed the Fifth went to the city of Tangiers and proclaimed his great appeal there: 'Morocco must win its independence and it is an integral part of the Arab world and the Arab league. 'That day I abandoned teaching, issued the newspaper AL-RA'Y AL-'AMM, and embarked on the journalistic profession. I loved it very much. Two years ago, when I was asked to prepare the national paper, I was asked what my profession was and said 'journalist.' They said, 'But you are director of the royal court.' I replied, 'That's my job, but my profession is journalism.'"

/No 112, 3-9 Apr 82 pp 19-22/

/Text/ Last week AL-MAJALLAH published the first instalment of the memoirs of the counsellor to King Hassan the Second and the director of the Moroccan royal court, Mr Ahmed Bensouda. That instalment dealt with his initial work in the political struggle against French colonialism and the events in which he took part at age 10 against this colonialism. It is well known that Mr. Bensouda has held numerous positions in Morocco, through which he represented Morocco in the United Nations the the Arab League; on top of that, he was Morocco's ambassador to Lebanon for a long time, as well as being the first governor of the Western Sahara. This is the second and final instalment of Ahmed Bensouda's memoirs.

In 1940, when Ahmed Bensouda was imprisoned in Meknes, he vowed to himself that he would not go to bed in the cell every night until he had committed a line which he considered tantamount to a saying to memory. These are some of his lines: "Do not be amazed, do not castigate, do not get distraught and do not get angry: the great man is not the one who knows how to boast of victory but the one who knows how to bear defeat and attain relief and victory through that. I marvel at man: an hour of relief will make him forget centuries of grief, and a second of pain will cause him to forget all the vigor of the past. The greatest misfortune a great man cannot endure is to discover that he has given his heart to a person who does not deserve it."

/Question/ In the previous instalment, you said that you moved over to journalistic duties. Could you speak to us about that period?

/Answer/ I headed the newspaper AL-RA'Y AL-'AMM, which continued to appear until the colonialists shut it down, after they had exiled King Mohamed the Fifth. The crisis in Morocco intensified; I left the area, which was under French influence, and went to the city of Tangiers, where Arab League delegations and some Islamic conference members appeared and at that time drew up the unity charter for political parties. As a result of that charter, we went to Cairo and presented the Moroccan cause at the Arab League. From there it was presented to the United Nations (in 1950), and then we went to the Palais de Chaillot (in Paris), where a session of the international organization was being held. When that moved from Paris to the United Nations (in 1952), I went there and presented the Moroccan case. But France was gripped by folly and exiled Mohamed the Fifth from Morocco in 1953. Since we were abroad, we continued to travel around, explain our cause and win supporters for it.

/Question/ What about inside Morocco?

/Answer/ There was armed resistance of various forms domestically, until France was forced to yield, make contacts and negotiate with us. These negotiations began in Switzerland. We then followed through with the negotiations in Paris. I made tours of French cities where I explained our cause to the French people, and this led to a meeting between us and the French government. That was a meeting in which agreement was reached. Where would King Mohamed the Fifth return to France to negotiate his country's independence with the government. On 15 November 1955 the king went back to Morocco and cried out at the top of his voice, right here specifically (in the royal court in Rabat), "Thanks be go God, the lord of the two worlds, who has been gracious and generous to us: I have come back to you, beloved people, with freedom and independence in hand." After that the first cabinet was formed and the late King Mohamed the Fifth gave me the honor of taking part in it. I was the first minister of youth and sports. I then left the cabinet, returned to my political activity, and once again headed up the newspaper AL-RA'Y AL-'AMM, until the disputes inside the Istiqlal Party began. At that time we young people formed what is today called the National Union of Popular Forces, but I stayed only a little time in the party, and left it to work independently separate from all political parties.

Bensouda the Journalist

/Question/ Let us go back a little, to the time you headed the newspaper AL-RA'Y AL-'AMM. In what events did the newspaper take part and have an effective voice at that time?

/Answer/ AL-RA'Y AL-'AMM was issued on 15 April 1947 on the week when King Mohamed the Fifth (may God have mercy on him) went to Tangiers and threw his "grenade" against colonialism, declaring his demand for independence and freedom there in a loud voice. At that time we, as a newspaper, were in a harsh struggle with colonialism. The newspaper endured the vexations of this struggle and exposed colonialism and its methods. However, the censors were watching out for us, and as a result most of our pages were issued blank, because of the censor. However, we refrained from filling up this blank space with what the censor wanted.

/Question/ What was the citizens' reaction?

/Answer/ When they saw a paper whose space was mostly blank, they vied with one another to buy it. As a result of this popularity, we were encouraged to bear up under the burden of losses. We turned the articles that were deleted into secret publications which we would distribute to the cells. The colonialists wanted to keep the newspaper AL-RA'Y AL-'AMM from guiding the people, out of the belief that censorship would fulfil the objective. That was an incorrect, stupid idea. The blank censored spaces provoked people's curiosity. The people considered that the articles the censor had deleted were undoubtedly important, and very important; otherwise, they would not have been deleted by the censor's orders. Our papers, at that time, were papers that had missions. We wrote articles and then went to prison. I stood up in court 12 times for the sake of my opinions and the written word. Thus the newspaper was expressing the nation's demands, and described the tragedies and grievances that the colonialists were perpetrating.

/Question/ Did your paper win other victories?

/Answer/ When the struggle and the pressures on France intensified, it tried to offer us some concessions, but we rejected them forcefully and fiercely in our articles. I can say that the press was the main platform for familiarizing people with our cause and exposing the injustices the colonialists were committing. We had our way of getting what we wanted to the people. For example, I wrote a daily article I called "The Mufti's Statement." Evidently the censor liked "the statement": he told the French that this article was written in complex literary language that only aristocrats could understand and that they did not influence public opinion. Thus I managed to put out a number of articles which one of our friends collected in a book, after he had asked my permission to do so. I was touched when he did that and wrote him this message: "I was amazed at your letter, which arrived today, asking me to permit you to publish 'The Mufti's Statements.'" I was amazed, I was touched, and I went back into the past, the past I had forgotten, the past which I had tried to turn into memoirs, I was touched by your letter. I would not have imagined that there still are people in this country who care for the people's past, show it affection and remember it. These statements cost me a great deal when they were published, and they exposed me to many vexations and

acts of hostility which the 'mufti' endured with long-suffering devotion and the patience of the devout, because these statements had issued forth from a heart which loved this country and had sacrificed its mother, its father, its family, and its youth for the sake of this nation. 17 February 1960."

#### Other Events

Ahmed Bensouda, the counsellor to King Hassan the Second, continued to narrate his recollections of the most important events that he had written about and defended in the press. He said, "One of the most important issues over which we raised our voices was that of Palestine. At that time I wrote a number of articles whose sense was, Why don't you create an Israel in Australia and put the Arabs in Asia? Weizmann has checked the people with golden reins. Is Weizmann seeking the aid of Truman? Choose your excuse, Weizmann, the Palestine cause is not a new one as far as we are concerned--rather, we have lived with it since its beginnings and are still working on its behalf."

/Question/ On the subject of Palestine, what would Morocco's position be if war broke out between the Arabs and Israel?

/Answer/ Morocco, like every Arab country, is committed in word and deed to the Palestine cause. King Hassan the Second always says, "I am not from a country that gives support and backing, I am one of the confrontation states, because I have faced the Israelis in Golan and also in Sinai." Thus Morocco is always committed to all Arab commitments, never stopped at mere promises but has always been active. This kind of question is not asked of a people whose blood soaked and stained the mountains of Golan. We have martyrs who are interred in the Salah-al-Din Cemetery, and we have martyrs in Sinai.

/Question/ Looking at the struggles that are taking place on the Arab stage, do you consider that Israel will seize these as an opportunity to launch a war against the Arabs?

/Answer/ Let us talk about the Arabs first. We are always talking about others and how others would behave. I believe that when the Arabs really start thinking, we will win more than one battle. We believe that Zionism, for the Arabs, is like Nazism with respect to the European countries; why don't the Arabs, in their struggles with Zionism, emulate these two countries in their struggle against Nazism? What did the America of Roosevelt and the Russia of Stalin do? They forgot all their disputes and mobilized all their soldiers to fight the common enemy. When they defeated Nazism, each party went its own way. But the Arabs, most unfortunately, are not serious in what they do--they say that one will get to such-and-such a point after Arab regimes are eliminated. They have changed and shifted a number of regimes, and what has been the result? The fact is that what we lack is scientific analysis. It is true that there are forces in the international struggle that are playing games with us, but when you are a person with a cause and make people respect you, no one will be able to play games with your destiny. Here I can raise the following question: Did the Arabs ever sit down and conduct an objective study on their cause? Did they wonder why Israel was established? If they had met and conducted a study they would have come up with the right

answer and would have proceeded on the right road. Here I remember the story of a Sufi scholar lecturing his pupils and telling them "The world is riding by rapidly, like Adam's knight, and we are proceeding on a weak, crippled donkey." A boy sprung up in the middle of the circle and said "How much more quickly would we catch up to it if we went on the straight path." That applies to us Arabs. Even if we are proceeding on a crippled donkey, if we proceed on the right road, we will catch up to them. Therefore I say, most sorrowfully, that some Arab regimes are more anxious to beat other Arab regimes than to beat Israel. Israel knows this; the world knows this syllogism. However, if we express our true thoughts, it will take hundreds of lectures for us to make people respect us. Our adversaries, like our friends, know our weak points. They, most unfortunately, say "we do not have self respect!"

#### Private Affairs

/Question/ Let us shift from politics to something else. Could you shed some light on your private life for us?

/Answer/ I go to bed early and get up early. I like to walk and swim. I smoke a little bit and drink coffee and tea. What attract me the most are beauty and knowledge. I write poems about the nation and the people who live in the nation. I am married to the daughter of al-Hajj Mohamed al-Zayyan, Morocco's first pilot, and I have four children. Khadija (married), Amal (also married), Mohamed, who is still studying, and Marouan. I consider that my marriage was and still is most harmonious. One of the secrets of my success is that God gave me a gracious wife. There is a saying, "Our lord brought us good things on earth and good things in the hereafter." They considered the good things of the world to be gracious women who help men. My wife, thank God, has been one of the good things of the world, especially since it is hard to be married to me. My whole life has consisted of travel, trips and prison. There is an amusing story about my marriage, since it was the ninth in my marriage plans.

/Question/ Does that mean that you married nine times?

/Answer/ No, my marriage plans covered nine occasions. Each time I intended to get married, obstacles stood in my way--I suffered either prison or exile before the marriage contract could be written, and I was compelled to exempt the women from my chains and give them their freedom. Therefore my current marriage was the ninth in terms of numbers and first in terms of actual happening.

/Question/ It is difficult for a poet to remain devoted and loyal to the contract of love all his life.

/Answer/ After I got married, all my poems were the fabric of fantasy.

/Question/ It is not reasonable that your poems should be the fabric of fantasy, since you say "Don't blame me when beauty appears, for I am the lover who cannot rest."

/Answer/ I have not given my emotions free rein. Rather, all my steps have been carefully studied and thought out. Therefore, there have been no adverse reactions inside the home.

/Question/ When you write your love qasidahs, does the first question your wife asks you concern the quality of the qasidah or the person you wrote it for?

/Answer/ She is smart. She knows that I love and respect her. She is fully aware of my nature; she knows that I love life. She is an intelligent woman and has a strong personality. Therefore she absolutely does not raise questions of this kind.

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DEMOCRACY, ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT DISCUSSED

Democratic Remedies Discussed

Jiddah AL-MADINAH AL-MUNAWWARAH in Arabic No 5490, 30 Mar 82 p 2

[Editorial]

[Excerpts] His Royal Highness Prince Fahd ibn 'Abd-al-'Aziz granted an important political interview to the Kuwaiti newspaper AL-SIYASAH. In this interview, which is being published today, his highness answers numerous questions in the course of three discussions on politics, economics and social affairs. These questions may be considered concerns with which Arab citizens are now preoccupied.

All Arabs know of course what happened after the Fez Summit, and all Arabs also know the numerous retractions that took place in European and global positions which the Saudi plan had at first attracted. The Arabs are also still suffering the consequences of the fragmentation brought about by some Arabs [who had opposed Prince Fahd's plan]. This fragmentation had brought about successive disasters from which the Arab nation as a whole is still experiencing great and bitter suffering. [An example of this is] what happened in the Golan or what is now happening in occupied Palestine.

Being knowledgeable about the Arab political reality, Prince Fahd links the political and economic ailments from which the Arab nation is suffering with a true understanding of democracy.

It was with this clear understanding that his highness explained the notion of democracy in the kingdom. The Consultative Council or the system of government in the kingdom would not be beneficial if it were not consistent with sound principles. "We place no importance on the time factor in promoting such important action despite the fact that such delays place a heavy burden on a ruler. We in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia--as well as Arabs, Muslims and the whole world--know that we are the only country on this globe where a citizen has access to a ruler during the night and in the morning and evening hours. Although the Consultative Council will not deprive a Saudi citizen of this unique advantage--that of communicating directly with the ruler and telling him his opinion on anything he wishes to express an opinion on or conveying a grievance to him--it will, nevertheless, assist the ruler. It will enable the ruler to have at least partial relief from a burden the likes of which no ruler on earth can endure. In a country like the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, with its present international position and with

the Arab, Islamic and international responsibilities that it has on its shoulders, it behooves all its citizens to become a consultative council to help the ruler and not become a burden to him.

His Highness the Crown Prince revealed the truth about these democratic public images that we see in some advanced countries. We all sense the effects that their drawbacks and mistakes have as well as the absence in them of collective participation in the process of making political decisions.

Regarding the Saudi Consultative Council Fahd says, "Therefore, we wanted perceptions of the Consultative Council to be complete with regard to the nature of Saudi society. We wanted to emphasize the fact that none of us as rulers denies the importance of counsel and collective sharing of responsibility through a select group of people who are characterized by competence [gained through] experience or formal education. It is this select group of people who will argue their decisions in front of all the people."

It is with such luminous thinking and with such a wholesome remedy that the physician of Arabs diagnoses the political ailments from which the Arab nation is suffering. He also prescribes the proper democratic medication for relieving many of the political complications from which the Arabs are suffering at the present time.

#### Development Prospects Discussed

Jiddah AL-MADINAH AL-MUNAWWARAH in Arabic No 5491, 31 Mar 82 p 2

[Editorial]

[Text] If the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is considered today one of the strongest Arab countries economically and financially and if Saudi citizens are enjoying a life of prosperity that can scarcely be found in the most civilized countries of the world, this is not necessarily due to the fact that the kingdom is an oil [exporting] country. There are many oil [exporting] countries--we know these countries well; we know their oil revenues; and we also know their other revenues from agricultural, livestock, tourist and other resources that the kingdom does not have--and we know how these countries waste their tremendous financial resources without being able to raise their societies' standard of living to a standard comparable to that which Saudi society has achieved. Today, the standard [of living] in Saudi society is comparable to the highest standard achieved by the advanced societies in Europe and the United States. This is not our testimony; it is that of the entire world which has been watching and observing everything that is being built today in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. These accomplishments have been like myths and dreams compared to conditions 50 years ago. If we wanted to compare and measure the annual accomplishments in our country with the accomplishments of others whose revenues and environmental conditions are similar to ours, we would find no room for comparison.

When His Highness the Crown Prince speaks about areas of development in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, he uses figures because figures are best understood in all the countries of the world. Responding to a question about the logic that governs the full cooperation [that exists] among the countries of the Cooperation Council, his highness sets forth an economic proposal whose style and content are

new and whose idea and objectives are exemplary. His Highness says, "Logic prevails over the actions of this group. I have always been for joining together the economic interests of nations from the very beginning.

"It is this that would ultimately bring about the political framework that is being sought.

"There are 3,000 projects operating and producing in Saudi Arabia, and there are 800 new projects on the way. Why shouldn't these projects be owned by citizens of the countries of the Cooperation Council? Our agricultural projects have achieved good and concrete results. We still have many projects that can create food sufficiency for the countries of the Cooperation Council, at least in some if not all products. Why shouldn't we consider having joint banks as long as we have common interests and benefits and no one is hurt? There are many factors. What matters is that citizens of the Gulf area and of the Arabian Peninsula feel that they are a common financial power and that they have common interests. Even logic controls the meetings of the Cooperation Council, and this is easy. What is important is swiftness in execution; we must not tarry. We are countries with a good financial standing. None of us has ambitions on the other, and our joint actions give us power in front of outside forces."

As one of the architects of contemporary Arab politics His Highness Prince Fahd states what he is confident would be the means leading to the formation of a strong and sturdy Arab nation. In articulating that very important opinion Prince Fahd is simultaneously expressing his convictions which were acquired from the experience that the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia went through when it set out to build for itself an economic policy that was based on strong and firm foundations. Saudi Arabia generated for its Arab nation this tremendous economic power which is actually a mainstay and a strong [source of] support for the Arab nation.

Fahd ibn 'Abd-al-'Aziz wants fraternal countries that are demographically and politically similar and that share neighborly and blood relations to benefit from this situation which the kingdom has achieved for itself. Through common cooperation countries of the Cooperation Council can utilize the high-level economic and political relations that the kingdom has today with most countries of the world to bring forth a greater and a more effective economic power. In turn, this would have a positive effect on the interests of the Arab nation in its entirety.

We can thus say that the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has a sincere desire to use its ties with the countries of the Gulf Cooperation Council, primarily for the benefit of these countries. Investment projects in the kingdom, amounting to 3,800 projects, will primarily benefit citizens of the Gulf whether they are from the kingdom or from the remaining Gulf countries.

Fahd ibn 'Abd-al-'Aziz gives considerable attention to strategic production, such as the cultivation of grains and other basic food products.

It is from this premise that Prince Fahd sets down the most important foundations for political stability in the area. If countries of the Gulf can achieve self-sufficiency in food, they would have thereby made considerable progress toward prescribing their political decisions, and this would enable them to have considerable impact on the course of international and regional events. This is what

the kingdom was able to achieve for itself when it increased its wheat production from 36,000 tons per year to 400,000. With such a high [increase in the] production rate the kingdom broke all the barriers of fear that had surrounded our future aspirations. Today, if we were to take into consideration the fact that the kingdom consumes about 600,000 tons of wheat, [we would conclude that] providing two thirds of this urgently needed product may not be difficult. In 3 years, God willing, we will become self-sufficient in wheat." This is what Fahd ibn 'Abd-al-'Aziz said--a man who is used to talking after taking action. In many instances it's been what was accomplished and what was done that did the talking. It's been the major projects and accomplishments and the 20th century civilization that is being built today on the desert of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia that did the talking.

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# ROLE OF ISLAMIC MILITANTS IN UNIVERSITY UNREST EXPLORED

Tunis AL-SHA'B in Arabic 9 Apr 82 p 13

/Article by Muhammad al-Munji Hammadi: "Violence in the University: What Are the Causes? Will the Vicious Circle End?"/

/Text/ Now, comrades, brothers, colleagues: Is your mind at rest? Are your consciences at ease? Twenty-three arrested persons are accounted for and the rest are coming. There are 30 wounded persons, among them two people who are unconscious, not counting those who bound up their wounds and fled. The Faculties of Letters, Science, Law, Islamic Law and the Principles of Religion, the National School of Engineers and the Higher Candidates' School closed their doors to students a short time before the examinations. The year is empty, empty as the pages in their virgin notebooks which have not been touched by pens now that the latter have given way to truncheons, knives, chains and clubs, with which people are tearing one another apart. The police entered the broad gates of the university this time not to repress but to stop the fighting among the students and to protect students from the evil of other students.

Then What, After This Event?

Isn't there anyone among you who will believe our statements, which compare you to primitive tribes? There is no doubt that some of you say that our talk is just a sort of distortion of the student movement. How I wish I had been wrong about you! However, my disappointment has been as great as your sins against the university, the movement, education and the country. For years, when citizens talked about what was happening to the students, you would feel that you heard only sympathy, affection and respect for them, because they were in the right, but today expressions of indifference, anger and pain are etched on the faces of people who talk about the university, because that right has become lost in peripheral acts of fraud. Yesterday the students were victims in the view of public opinion, but today they have become the transgressors, the ones to be condemned, although in reality they still are the victims. They have lost the trust of the professors, who were their best support, and they have lost the trust of the masses of workers, the guardians, as represented by the General Tunisian Federation of Labor, which showed its position in principle on the painful events that have newly arisen in the university and rejected dominance by violence and terror, whatever its material or intellectual form might be.

The strange thing, the strange thing about the matter, after everything that has happened, is that the transgressors are trying to justify their sins by casting blame on others, and others besides the students are doing so, each in his own place, so that people feel as if the events that arose recently constituted only a round that would be followed by others, and feel as if they were faced with a "messianic presence," with each round preceded by an escapade of "fermentation."

But can there be any room for excuses after everything that has happened? The attitude that is the motive power behind all these sad events in the university is only one of revenge and vindictiveness--characteristics that are inherited from backward primitive tribes.

Proof of that are the repeated violent, foolhardy acts of aggression to break every attempt thoughtfully to study all union and pedagogical problems, although the majority of the students endorse the soundness of this course.

Proof of that also are the violent reactions aimed at protecting public meetings.

Proof of that are the cudgels, knives and chains the students arm themselves with before coming to every meeting.

We will direct a final word to the authorities concerned, and that is that every escalation toward violence, deterrence, arrests, trials, the shutting down of faculties, the suspension of examinations or the bringing back of university guards on their part will only make things worse. Indeed, they, and all the parties (students, professors and the administration), must deal with the recent developments most carefully and responsibly and must put the interests of the university above all considerations.

The worsening of the phenomenon of violence in the university, in our opinion continues to depend on the students themselves, in spite of everything that has happened. However, the human spirit becomes threatened when the university turns from a center of illumination to an area in which violence takes root and an arena of combat.

Talk about democratic union representation becomes mere lies, and talk about reforming education and uplifting the Tunisian student becomes a mere dream.

Similarly, putting a stop to the deterioration of the situation in the university, while contingent on the solution to chronic pedagogical problems, in order to arrive at the performance of an educational reform that will be in keeping with the aspirations of students and professors, is also, on the part of the students, contingent on the condemnation of ideological fossilization, bloody struggle, and the pursuit of party politics for the sake of dominance on the one hand and respect for different views and an adherence to democracy and constructive dialogue to cope with various student matters on the other.

An Independent Student in the Fourth Year of Law: Control Lay with the Destourians in the Sixties; and the Extreme Left in the Seventies; Will It Lie with the Islamic Movement in the Eighties?

The violence is being reciprocated by two basic parties, the Islamic movement and the democratic nationalist students. It may be ascribed to the fact that the former movement is in an aggressive state and aims at total dominance over the university; the second approach is in a state of casual drift and is trying to preserve its positions. Therefore a clash has arisen between these two extremist tendencies, which share the same efforts and the same view of their relationship to the students, which is one of absolute dominance and the rejection of everything at odds with them: in other words, two anti-democratic tendencies.

It is true that general conditions in the university (educational policy, the deterioration in living conditions, the years of oppression from the past) and in the country (the policy of rigidity which was dominant in recent years) have contributed to the explanation for the phenomena of tendencies toward violence, but it is absolutely not correct to distort matters, explain everything in terms of these concomitant circumstances and make the authorities bear the responsibility for fighting among students.

This position entails a lack of courage and a reluctance to condemn people who truly deserve to be condemned, namely the extremist movements that are now fighting among themselves in the university, and to seek out the details on who started the aggression and who reacted. Each of them believes in violence and each of them practices it, whether under the guise of fighting reaction or fighting atheism and apostasy.

Here it is in particular worth condemning some subversive movements that claim to condemn violence in the university and call for democracy but whom experience has proved are an organized party that is taking part in the process of massacring their brother students. Here in particular I mean the group of students that calls itself the Revolutionary Unionists.

In my opinion the violence will continue for another few years, that is, to the point when the Islamic movement gains total dominance over the university, and this, in my estimation, will come about in 3 or 4 years. The Islamic movement will move about at will in the university as the Destourians did in the sixties and the extreme left did in the seventies. It will have the eighties. Just as the former two failed because they were fanatic and extremists, the Islamic movement will also fail, because it in turn is extremist and fanatic. At that point only will it be possible to regain hope for the possibility of establishing democracy in the university.

Until then blood will flow, students will fight, and no measures will deter that--trials or anything else.

A Student in the Faculty of Letters (Destourian Nationalist)

The events in the university have taken two forms. The first is embodied in the activity of the "Moslem Brothers," a movement that has concealed itself under the name of "the Islamic movement," to fragment all viable organized movements over the union question and the possibility for finding appropriate solutions for coming up with a union organization in the university.

From the political standpoint, everyone is working to drive home the need for freedom of union activity and discrimination between broad mass activity and party activity in the mass organizations.

This is all part of an attempt by the progressive union forces to bring the student movement out of its state of sloppiness and fragmentation into a state of union organization.

However, the Moslem Brothers are a body that is alien to union activity. They have nothing to say on this question and they find themselves isolated and detached in calling for a charter conference while failing to show how to set such a conference up or show what forces might participate in it. Nor have they shown us what might be the contents of this conference (such as charters, and bylaws) by which it might be possible for the students to be clear about the democracy of union activity and its independence of all outside authorities.

The Moslem Brothers have contented themselves by saying that the General Federation of Tunisian Students does not amount to more than a ruling party Destourian cell, torpedoing all the struggles it made for national and social liberation since it came into being, supporting liberation movements throughout the world and opposing imperialism.

The second form is reliance on fascist methods, which are nothing but the individual terrorization of all fighting people. That is what they told the student masses in all departments of the Tunisian University, stating "We warn the inter-federation committee of the consequences of performing any activity that concerns the union question." They then also declared that they would discipline the personnel in the group that they call "The 18 People," (referring to the call for the 18th exceptional conference). They actually did that in all the university quarters, hunting down students in stations and dealing violently with them, saying "Anyone who beats or kicks anyone belonging to the '18 people' will have a good mark noted down in his favor." Thus you see the Brothers moving about in groups within the quarters. Whenever they spot a victim, they jump on him, kicking and stomping. They also set up tribunals in the 2 March Dormitory in Ariana and the Ben Arousse Dormitory, threw out all the students and imposed a siege on all the dormitories and faculties.

Faced with all these conditions, the students' reply on Tuesday in the Faculty of Letters took a tone of self-defense. Even students who came from other faculties did not intend to attack the Moslem Brothers--rather, their appearance was aimed at celebrating Earth Day and attending a cultural pageant (which did not take place, because the incidents occurred). It is our custom to revive this commemoration every year, and discussions are held with the Palestinians on this subject especially. We also intended to hold a general meeting with the temporary union formations in the Faculty of Letters, with the goal of informing the students of the dean's readiness to receive a committee of students to discuss the latest resolutions: however, the Moslem Brothers went on alert and brandished knives and chains; groups of them went out to inform the rest of their colleagues of the need to reinforce themselves and they headed for the Faculty of Islamic Law, which was their main stronghold, and the Higher Engineering School, in a mass parade.

However, I would like to refer to the deliberate distortion that some media have engaged in, showing pictures of knives which actually belonged to the university cafeteria and were in the possession of students in their residences against the calls that are often made when students are compelled to keep spoons and knives. Bottles of alcohol had been thrown around the quarter because many students drink wine, especially at the end of the month.

As regards limiting the aggression, I direct an appeal to all democratic forces in the country, in the form of intellectuals, journalists and organizations, to stand up to and expose the enemies of democracy, especially the democracy of union activity, understand the true nature of this religious group, and go back to its heritage, especially Hasan al-Banna, his exhortations and all his writings, which are in no way different from those of Hitler or Mussolini.

That is on the one hand. Then I urge all students to cope with this religious group by boycotting its meetings and its thinking and protecting the fighting union members so that they will be able to carry out their union missions within the university.

As regards the present academic year, it is my opinion that the administration should abandon the punitive measures that were recently instituted and postpone the examination date to the beginning of June. Through this measure, it will be possible to resume studies directly after the holiday, on condition that the authorities in the university establishment not intervene to bother the students, lest matters get worse.

I notice that some newspapers use the word "vendetta." That is, I condemn this backward, primitive method, which reflects a tribal mentality, and the greatest proof of that is the fact that the Moslem Brothers organized an armed attack on the Faculty of Letters on 20 March 1980 which lasted from the dawn prayer to the middle of the day. Houses were broken into, there was violence against students, and first aid vehicles showed up there. People remained unconscious because of the bleeding they had suffered. Nonetheless, we did not react--rather, we contented ourselves with condemnation and name-calling.

#### The Islamic Movement

Recently the student arena has witnessed an escalation in the wave of violence and armed aggression which the orthodox Marxist-Leninist coalition, under the leadership of what are known as the democratic nationalist students, has carried out against the other students, especially the Islamic-oriented ones, in an attempt to impose its dominance over the student movement. The incidents of violence reached their peak on Tuesday 30 March 1982 in the Faculty of Letters in Mannouba, when members of this coalition launched a vicious attack on the Islamic students in which they used knives, iron rods, gas and acid. As a result of that, dozens of students were hurt and immediately moved to hospital..

These incidents represent a feature of the intense crisis that the Tunisian University is struggling under as a result of the convergence of a number of

elements, among them the unsuccessful political, economic, social and educational orientations of the regime and the subordination, backwardness and cultural pillage the country has come to. The crises and difficulties the student movement is suffering from are not isolated from the dominance, control and political repression the masses of our people in general are suffering from at the hands of the ruling regime.

In the face of this grave situation, the movement of the Islamic orientation condemns the terroristic practices and violence which express the phenomenon of bankruptcy and a failure to embody democratic practice, dialogue and persuasion by the force of logic. The movement also condemns the extremist leftist groups in the university, which are ceaselessly raising slogans of liquidation and terror, thus objectively joining ranks with the regime in repressing and suppressing Islamic-oriented students.

Just as it condemns these barbaric acts, it calls on student parties to take a decisive, responsible position toward them by tearing off people's masks, moving the student movement in the proper democratic direction and condemning violence in all its forms in order to preserve all the gains realized by the student movement, all political and social movements calling for radical change while preserving Islamic values and principles, and, behind them, all the segments of our down-trodden people.

#### A Student in the Faculty of Letters (Arab Student Vanguard)

The Tunisian University has recently been a scene of bloody incidents between the "Islamic tendency" and the "Marxist" parties with all their splinter groups. The ruling party played the pioneering role in violence as a mode of conduct in the university, since it exercised repression of the student masses as a part of the masses of our Arab people in Tunisia on numerous levels:

1. Economic: stipends, food, lodging, transportation and educational materials.
2. Cultural: westernization, the use of French, brainwashing.
3. Political: arrests, show trials, liquidation plans, persecution.
4. Educational: arbitrary expulsion, selection, educational programs lacking substance and serving the aspirations of the people, and the refusal to absorb the graduates of educational organizations. The years of the sixties and seventies have been the most notorious proof of this.

This academic year, its punitive measures toward the students have been embodied in the closing down of university cafeterias and the arbitrary expulsion of numerous students, while many of them have been deprived of the right to additional admissions. It has passed through the plans that it set out in the context of educational programs, which have reached the point where it hinted that it would prevent students from finishing the June session, as well as depriving the students of the Faculty of Letters of their right to probationary terms and issuing punitive laws against the students in the Faculty of Letters in Manouba on 9 April. In addition, it has failed to guarantee students job positions upon graduation.

The violence that has been practiced inside the Tunisian University by the "Marxist" parties and the Islamic movement, whose victims are a group of students in both parties as well as students from the broad base, may essentially be attributed to:

1. These parties' improper, sterile understanding of the nature of the struggle in the university. They embrace violence as a form of political struggle in the context of the student arena and try to create points of emphasis to justify their theoretical premises for legitimizing terror and the logic of force, although the student movement has its own characteristics, particular attributes and methods of struggle.
2. The bankruptcy of the political analyses which they rely on in dealing with the students' causes, both temporary and strategic. The parties which are fighting among themselves today came into being in the Tunisian University some time ago on the claim of transcending the "student crisis," but they have become a part of the crisis, in view of their narrow horizons, their hazy vision and their lack of radical alternatives to the real student movement.
3. The narrow party view of each, which has the aim of employing the powers of the masses to serve their purposes. This has led to an inevitable collision, in addition to isolated action from the top levels, in which the broadest base of the students has been absent.
4. The failure to provide basic points of emphasis for the struggle, as represented in essence by the instrument of the union, by raising the struggle over adherence or nonadherence to "temporary union structures." Therefore these currents have developed in the settlement, both in the "temporary union structures" and in the slogan "establishment of a temporary nature."

The violence that passes back and forth between the "marxist" parties on the one hand and the "Islamic movement" on the other, which does not serve the student masses or their movement in any way and has become endemic within the student movement, has made it possible to twist the student movement and make it appear chaotic and irresponsible, and has made it possible to intensify attacks on the university and arrests on the pretext of "preserving security."

In our belief that the phenomenon of violence in the student movement serves only the forces that are waiting to ensnare this movement, we while embracing revolutionary violence, consider it necessary to endorse:

- A. A proper struggle which has the force of logic and clarity of analysis and alternatives as its goal.
- B. Positive interaction with the broadest masses of students, turning them into the body which has the decision over the final say.
- C. Emphasis on the basic focal points of the student movement, in its struggle against the forces of fragmentation, class, colonialism and backwardness.

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END